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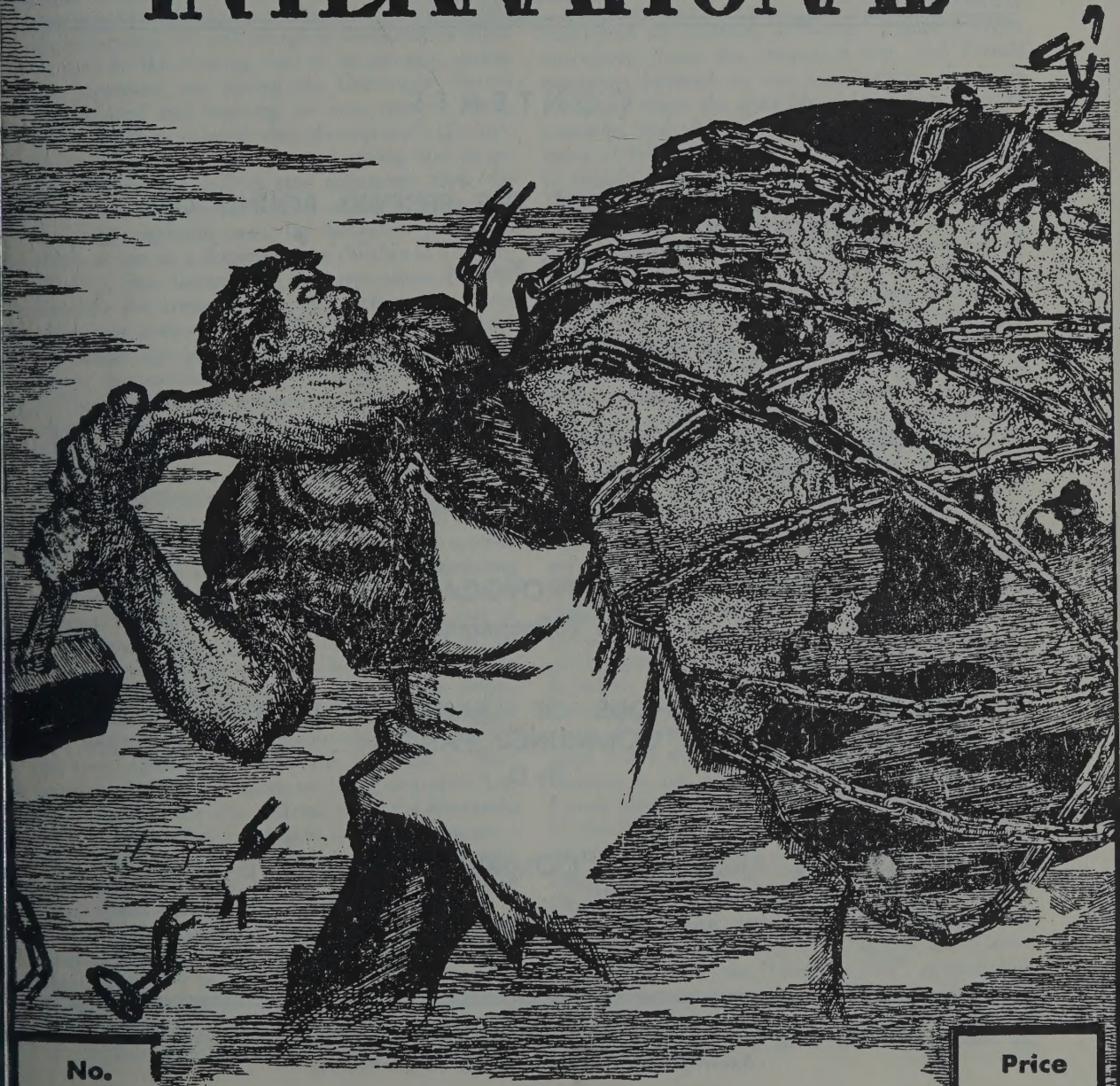

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VANGUARD STRUGGLES OF THE SECOND ROUND OF REVOLUTIONS

By V. KNORIN

THROUGHOUT the capitalist world the revolutionary crisis is maturing. The working class, driven to despair by misery and unemployment, is taking the path to revolution. The ruling classes of the capitalist countries, scared by the mighty movement of the oppressed masses, "are zealously destroying, or reducing to nothing such last vestiges of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy as might be used by the working class in its struggle against the oppressors, are driving the Communist Parties underground and resorting to open terrorist methods in order to maintain their dictatorship" (Stalin). Entangled in contradictions, not knowing how to get out of the crisis and to save themselves from the proletarian revolution "in spite of the experience of the first imperialist war, the bourgeois politicians clutch at war as a drowning man clutches at a straw" (Stalin). But fascism and the preparations for war intensify the contradictions still further, they complicate the situation to a still greater degree, render the further development even more catastrophic, and hasten the maturing of the revolutionary crisis.

The huge contrast between the U.S.S.R. and the capitalist countries, a contrast understood by every worker, helps the toiling masses to choose the path of revolution. The colossal victories of the proletariat of the Soviet Union who have abolished pauperization in the villeges and unemployment in the towns, and who are constructing a classless socialist society, serve as an alarm-signal rousing, convincing and calling on workers of all capitalist countries to struggle for Soviet power, for socialism. The fate of the German toilers who have been deprived of the most elementary human rights, have been shot down by the fascists and driven into concentration camps, stands out as a terrible warning against the passivity and non-resistance to bourgeois violence propagated by social-democracy. Under the influence of these contrasts, reformist illusions are being destroyed. Under this influence the collapse of social-democratic ideology and policy has begun among the masses, a new, great turn of the masses towards Communism has begun. This is to be seen in the recent mighty class battles taking place in capitalist Europe.

France and Austria, Vienna and Paris, these are symbols indicating the turn of the broad masses from social-democracy to Communism. They indicate the extreme sharpening of all contradictions, of the shakiness and instability of the entire capitalist system, and of the immediate oncoming of decisive battles between classes. They are signs of the fact that everywhere, throughout the whole world, the masses are rising in the struggle against capitalism, against fascist terror, and for socialism.

* * * *

France was until recently the most stable capitalist country on the continent of Europe. France emerged victoriously from the imperialist war, and French capitalism fattened on war contributions. France is a country where the crisis began later than in other countries, and where it was least in its depth. The index of industrial production in France went down to slightly lower than the pre-war level (96.1%) in 1932, the worst year of the crisis, and rapidly picked up again (107.6%) in 1933. However, the tensity of the entire world situation, the sharpening of all imperialist contradictions, especially the victory of fascism in Germany and the sharpening of the class struggle in France itself, had great influence upon the position of the French bourgeoisie. Its weaknesses were rapidly revealed. Its positions began to be threatened. The parliamentary system revealed itself as incapable of rendering these positions firm. Therefore, the finance-capitalist oligarchy began to turn from parliamentarism to fascism, it began to organize an army for civil war against the French proletariat. That is why such organizations as the "Camelots du Roi" and "Les Grois de Feu" which only recently were a laughing stock, and the National Union of War Veterans which played an insignificant role, have begun to assume political importance. These faithful servants of the financial oligarchy, generals of the Lyaute type, have threatened to march on Paris and to crush the working class movement. The government began to listen to the voice of these forces. It became clear that parliament is not the government, and that the real government is the financial oligarchy, generals of the Lyaute type, police prefects of the Chiappe type, and of the "Camelots du Roi". The French proletariat, which had no desire to permit the establishment of fascist dictatorship in France along the lines of German fascism, rose up against French finance capital and its open representatives, Tardieu & Co., against its generals and prefects, against the "Camelots du Roi" and the "Grois de Feu", against their terrorist threats against the working class. The steadfastness of French democracy and the stability of French capitalism took on a doubtful character. In

France one could feel the spirit of the Civil War, the spirit of the Paris Commune, the spirit of the fifth revolution. In the streets of Paris, Marseilles and Lyons posters appeared bearing the slogan "For Soviet Power." It became clear that the end of the 63-year-old lady—the Third Republic—was nearing.

Austria is the country in Europe most offended and plundered by the forces of the capitalist world. Austria is a country which is deprived of the right of even deciding its own fate, deprived even of the right of relinquishing its own "independence" and of dying as a state. This is the country where not even one-half of the factory chimneys have poured out any smoke since 1918, where the working class is doomed to a miserable extinction. This is the country where the bourgeoisie crawls like a hungry dog at the feet of Germany, Italy, France and even Hungary and Czechoslovakia. This is a country which is looked upon by its neighbors as an easy prey to be seized and divided up. It is a country which exists as an "independent" state only because its neighbors are afraid of one another. It is a country whose weakness, lack of perspective and doomed fate were exploited by the social-democrats, who by using "left" phraseology have tried to keep the workers from going over to the Communists. Five years ago already, thanks to the tolerance of the social-democracy, the fascists took matters into their own hands; there fascists, however, like the Austrian bourgeoisie in general, are dependent on foreign capital. Step by step the working class of Austria was deprived of all the achievements of the 1918 revolution, and of the achievements gained during the entire existence of the working class movement. But when the Austrian workers were confronted with the perspective of sharing the burdensome fate of the German and Italian proletariat, the perspective of losing the last remnants of political rights and liberty, their patience gave way. The working class of Austria, which had lost its faith in parliamentary methods of struggle, took to the barricades. *The great fight of the Austrian workers against the fascist bourgeoisie began.*

In one single day, France and Austria, Paris and Vienna, revealed the full depth of the resentment of the masses against the domination of capitalism, against fascism and war preparations. They revealed the instability of the capitalist system in its full light, and the preparedness of the workers to sacrifice their lives in the struggle against fascism. For five days the workers of Vienna, Steyr, Graz, Linz and many other Austrian cities fought on the barricades against the bourgeoisie of their own country, against their little Dollfuss, against the Heimwehr and the army, which is armed with artillery, machine guns, aeroplanes and poison gas acquired with the aid of foreign capital.

At the call of the workers' organizations in France, over 60 per cent of all workers and employees struck work and demonstrated their will to fight fascism. During the general strike in France and the general strike and armed uprising in Austria, a real, militant united front of Communist and social-democratic workers was created, the faith of the working class in its own strength grew immensely. The armed uprising in Austria as well as the general strike in France found a deep echo among the proletarians of all countries, raising them to the struggle against fascism, and the bourgeoisie, and for socialism. Does this not show that side by side with the maturing of the forces of war and the growth of the forces of fascism, a rapid mobilization is taking place of the forces of proletarian revolution, for the struggle for Soviet Power? Does this not show that the world is nearing the second round of revolutions and war? Does this not show the instability of the whole situation in capitalist Europe? Does this not show how great is the hatred of the toiling masses against fascism, that the eyes of all toilers are turned to the U.S.S.R., the great country of proletarian dictatorship?

* * * * *

The working class of Austria was compelled to enter the struggle under conditions in which its forces were considerably weakened and the forces of the bourgeoisie strengthened due to the policy of the social-democrats during the entire post-war period and especially in the course of recent years. In 1918, Austria underwent a revolutionary crisis, and a proletarian revolution began. But the social-democrats in alliance with the bourgeoisie crushed this revolution of the Austrian proletariat, and by their anti-peasant policy repelled the peasantry from the proletariat. During the course of the fifteen years which have passed since the revolution of 1918, they gradually disarmed the Austrian proletariat, and step by step drove them from their strongholds. They made it possible for the fascists to organize their forces. In 1929, they refused to fight, hence the fascists were enabled to gain their first victory and to strengthen their position in Austria. The social-democrats further agreed to the strengthening of the President's powers, and to the introduction of extraordinary laws, laws which worsened the position of the workers and gradually abolished social insurance. They refused to fight when the leader of the Heimwehr, Starhemberg, came to power. They refused to fight when Dollfuss came to power and when he disbanded parliament. They refused to fight when the fascist government disarmed the Schutzbund and

actually banned the Schutzbund. They refused to fight when Dollfuss deprived the Austrian workers of the right to be members of trade unions, when he subjected the social-democratic press to preliminary censorship. They did not lead the Austrian proletariat in the struggle against wage cuts and thereby helped the bourgeoisie to rob the workers. In this way the social-democrats weakened the Austrian proletariat step by step, isolated them from the broad masses of the people and gave the Austrian bourgeoisie its chance to strengthen its positions. Thereby they deprived the Austrian proletariat of one favorable position after another and deceived the workers by assuring them that Vienna would to all intents and purposes remain a "Socialist" city, and that the most important and vital problem facing the workers was municipal construction in Vienna.

Notwithstanding this endless chain of treachery, it was still possible, because of the "left" phraseology of the social-democrats, to keep the masses of the working class under the influence of the social-democrats. To achieve this, however, the social-democrats were compelled to give way to the sentiments of the mass of the working class, and to recognize in words the socialist character of the U.S.S.R., inasmuch as the U.S.S.R. has become a great attracting force for the masses, and had become their only hope. However, at the same time they "proved" that the path taken by the U.S.S.R. could not be taken by little Austria, and that in the case of Austria it was essential to keep within the bounds of bourgeois democracy. When, however, the bourgeoisie began to liquidate the last remnants of Parliamentarism, of democratic rights and the revolutionary achievements of the Austrian proletariat, when the bourgeoisie went as far as to prohabit the Social-Democratic Party and the trade unions, and to disarm the Schutzbund, then the Austrian social-democrats took the line of protesting against these actions of the government within the framework of legality, within the bounds of the law. The social-democratic leaders decided to scare the government by a general strike. When the workers of Linz and other cities had already begun to strike, the Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Party, under the pressure of the masses decided by a majority of one vote to call a general strike. But the social-democrats took no steps to really bring the general strike about. A number of social-democratic leaders prevented the organizations under their control from participating in the strike (*e.g.*, the railwaymen). The masses, however, took the slogan of the general strike seriously. The Austrian workers took to arms and went further than the bounds set them by the social-democrats. They transformed the strike announced by the social-democrats into a real revolutionary general strike, and from this strike they went over to the armed uprising against the offensive of fascism. They did so in defense of the workers' right to organize, of their right of assembly, of their right to strike, of the freedom of the press, and in defence of their homes.

For five days the proletariat of Austria carried on an armed struggle against Austrian fascism. Thousands of the best, the most faithful of these workers fell in open class battle with arms in their hands. Thousands of them were wounded. Thousands of them after exhausting all possible means of resistance were taken prisoners by fascists. The proletarians of Austria suffered a defeat but neither the difficulties of the struggle nor their tremendous sacrifices could break the militant spirit of the Austrian proletariat. The temporary victory of fascism and its frightful terror will rally the whole of the working class of Austria, still further, will intensify their hatred against the bourgeoisie, and their will to overthrow the rule of capital, and will render them a relentless opponent of the bourgeoisie. The temporary defeat of the Austrian proletariat has not broken and will not break the militant spirit either of the Austrian or the international proletariat, but will close the ranks of the proletariat for struggle and will make them adopt the only correct strategy and tactics capable of ensuring the victory of the proletariat, namely the tactics and strategy of the Communist International.

The social-democrats try to picture the situation as though the Austrian proletarians were merely on the defensive against the coup d'etat brought about by the Austrian government, against being deprived of the last remnants of parliamentarism and democratic rights. It is true that the Austrian workers came out in struggle when the bourgeoisie decided to deprive them of their last rights. But, in undertaking the struggle against fascism, the Austrian workers were fighting not only in defense of their democratic rights and their revolutionary achievements of former days. They fought to put an end once and for all to the hard lot of the wage worker, to establish a socialist Austria in the place of capitalist Austria. It is true that the leaders of the Austrian social-democracy had no desire to go any further than defending the Dollfuss constitution. But those who try to present this as the outlook of the Austrian workers are lying. Had the Austrian workers been victorious in open struggle against the bourgeoisie, then no social-democracy would have been able to compel them to remain the wage-slaves of the bourgeoisie. The victorious working class would have established its own Soviet power, and a new era would have begun in the development of Austria.

The struggle in Austria was not only a struggle to preserve the democratic rights of the workers. In

the last analysis it was a struggle between capitalism and socialism, it was a struggle for power. Notwithstanding the fact that the social-democrats tried by all means to limit the aims of this struggle, and to keep the workers in the position of defending the bourgeois democratic system, the slogan of Soviet Power enjoyed great sympathy at the Austrian barricades, a fact which none of the knights of "pure democracy" will succeed in hiding.

The bourgeoisie undertook its offensive against the workers of Austria in order to destroy the last remnants of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy which could still be utilized by the working class in their struggle against their oppressors. With the same end in view, the French bourgeoisie began a decisive offensive against parliamentarism and the democratic rights of the oppressed masses of France, and has taken a course leading to fascist dictatorship. The social-democracy in both of these countries decided to scare the bourgeoisie and to defend, using legal forms of struggle, the parliamentary system and their own existence. The logic of events turned out to be stronger than the maneuvers of the social-democrats. The movement outgrew the limits imposed upon it by the social-democracy. The revolutionary wave rose above the heads of the social-democracy. On the luxurious streets of the French and Austrian cities there appeared the slogan "For Soviet Power!"

This shows the trend being taken by the national revolutionary crisis.

> "The Soviets are victorious throughout the whole world. They are victorious first and foremost in the fact that they have won the sympathy of the proletarian masses. This is the most important thing. None of the brutality of the imperialist bourgeoisie, no persecution and murder of the Bolsheviks is able to take this conquest away from the masses. The more the 'democratic' bourgeoisie uses violence, the firmer will these conquests be in the spirit of the proletarian masses, in their feelings, consciousness and in their heroic preparedness for struggle." (Lenin, Vol. 24, p. 26, Russ. ed.)

* * * * *

The fact that the attempt of the Austrian social-democracy to conduct a "legal", "lawful" protest against the fascists and to "compel them to come to a peaceful and constitutional solution of the political crisis" grew into a higher mighty struggle of the Austrian proletariat against the bourgeoisie, shows to what extent the relations between classes in capitalist Europe have become strained. The Austrian uprising, as well as the general strike in France, shows how great is the determination of the masses, it shows how near is the revolutionary crisis in all countries, it shows that the masses are ready to undertake struggle, that big revolutionary battles may begin in the very near future. At the same time the Austrian uprising and the general strike in France show the mighty power of the general strike and the armed uprising.

Among the ranks of international social democracy there are to be found such "strategists" of revolution who claim that the very relation of forces between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in Austria doomed the uprising to defeat. In other words, that the Austrian proletariat should not have taken up arms. In reality however, the relation of forces was such that notwithstanding the fact that the proletariat had been weakened as a result of the policy of the social-democracy, while the bourgeoisie had strengthened themselves, the proletariat could none the less have achieved victory. What the Austrian proletariat was actually lacking was a *strong* Communist Party, capable of casting the social democracy aside and of establishing a central leadership over the general strike and the armed uprising, a party capable of taking the lead over the masses and of destroying all the social-democratic plans. Although the small Austrian Communist Party pursued a correct political line both before and during the uprising, it was not in a position to achieve this. Its attempts to establish a central leadership over the uprising and to change the defensive tactics of the fighting Schutzbund detachments did not meet with serious success. That is why the social-democracy alone is responsible for the defeat of the uprising.

The Austrian proletariat was brought to defeat only because it followed the fatal tactics of the social-democracy and limited itself to the defence of the working class, of the buildings belonging to the trade union and sport organizations, and did not from the very beginning take the offensive against fascism, did not relentlessly crush the bourgeoisie. If Vendervelde now speaks about the Austrian workers knowing beforehand that "their struggle was *hopelessly* unequal" that the Austrian workers fought with the knowledge that they would be defeated, that the Austrian uprising shows "how groundless are the romantic ideas about seizing power by way of an uprising", shows how "impossible is a victorious struggle against modern means of warfare", then all this is nothing else then a shameful attempt to justify the capitulatory policy and tactics of the social-democracy which proved fatal for the proletariat.

Certainly the Austrian proletariat was much worse off for arms than the bourgeoisie with its artillery, machine guns, poison gas and airplanes. But full of hatred against fascism, and with an inflexible will to struggle, the heroic proletarian detachments towards the eve of February 13th, even though guided by the fatal tactics of the social-democracy, made the situation for the bourgeoisie really critical.

If even at this moment the leaders of the uprising had led the proletariat in an offensive against the bourgeoisie, in a struggle to capture the center of the city and destroy the communication lines and supply bases of the fascist troops then on the offensive, if further the insurgents had unfolded before the people and the army the program of power for which they were fighting, then victory would have been on the side of the proletariat. As a result of the social-democratic traditions which they still retained, the members of the Schutzbund, who heroically resorted to arms, were not able completely to break with the social-democratic tactics. When the uprising flared up in spite of themselves, the leaders of the Austrian social-democracy who wanted no General Strike and still less an armed uprising succeeding in inducing the workers to remain in their homes, they convinced them not to take the offensive against the bourgeoisie but to keep on the defensive. It was precisely during what was for the Austrian bourgeoisie the critical night of February 13th, that the leaders of the social-democracy as they themselves have indicated, fled from the country. This was the last of a whole series of treacherous acts committed by Bauer, Deutsch and Co. Thus, the social-democracy, who were unable to keep the masses from a general strike and uprising, and whose attempts to organize a legal protest against the bourgeoisie grew into a mighty uprising of the proletariat, by their tactics of legalism, defense and refusal to take the offensive, led the uprising to defeat.

This tactic of the Austrian social-democracy was nothing else than the continuation of the tactic of continuous retreat before fascism, which Social Democracy practiced and has continued to practice over the course of the 15 years following the revolution of 1918, by surrendering to the bourgeoisie one working class position after another. This is the tactic that social democracy has reduced to a principle, to a theory which leads the proletariat to defeat, which paves the way for fascism and strengthens it. The proletariat can be victorious only if it is under a strictly centralized militant leadership, if it takes the offensive against the bourgeoisie, if it does not yield one inch of its ground, if it fights to conquer power, to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat

Hundreds and thousands of Austrian proletarians have paid with their lives for the lessons of the Austrian uprising. There is only one tactic and only one strategy which can assure the proletariat victory, a tactic and strategy which has already brought victory to the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. This is the tactic and strategy of Lenin and Stalin, this is the tactic and strategy of the *Communist International.* The general strike and armed uprising are the only road for the proletariat in its struggle to put an end to the domination of capital and conquer power and establish socialism. But even along this road victory is possible only by the utilization of revolutionary Leninist tactics, only under the leadership of a strong Communist Party which leads the working class in the offensive against the bourgeoisie, dealing out merciless punishment to their class enemy. Only by applying these tactics can the proletariat beat back the offensive of fascism, prevent war and put an end to capitalist slavery.

* * * * *

The Austrian proletariat as well as the fighting proletariat of other countries are now above all in need of the help of the *international working class.* The brutality of Austrian fascism can be stopped *now* only by the joint actions of the proletarians of all countries. The Communist Parties of all capitalist countries have set themselves the vital task of organizing fraternal aid to the Austrian working class by struggling against their own bourgeoisie and by means of direct aid to the Austrian workers. Social democracy which led the Austrian proletariat to defeat is now using all its power to hinder the growth of the international campaign of solidarity of the world proletariat in the interests of civil peace with the bourgeoisie. The Communist Party of Spain, itself in the fire of revolutionary battles, proposed to the Spanish social democracy and the anarcho-syndicalists to call a general strike for struggle against Spanish fascism, and as a sign of solidarity with the proletariat of Austria and France. Instead of calling the masses to participate in this strike, the Spanish social democrats and anarcho-syndicalists turned down this proposal of the Communists. None the less, in spite of the social democrats, and at the call of the Communist Party, more than a hundred thousand workers went on strike.

The social democracy in Czecho-Slovakia instead of organizing a real resistance against the onslaught of fascism has limited itself to a few indoor meetings stating at the same time that it is "*naturally against the united front with the Communists.*"

The social democracy of other countries are acting in the same way. Instead of conducting a struggle against the bourgeoisie they are engaged in a campaign of slander against the Communists and the Soviet Union. This is the real aid which social democracy is now rendering to fascism, to the murderers and hangmen of the Austrian proletariat. This is merely a continuation of the old 15-year old policy of the whole of international social democracy.

This is confirmed by the theoretical writings of

Emile Vandervelde who could find nothing better than to utilize the last remnants of his literary talent to prove that the armed uprising and general strike cannot bring victory for the proletariat. This is confirmed also by the "Theoretical investigations" of the leader of the Polish social fascists Nedzialkovsky and many other representatives of international social democracy. "You should not have taken up arms", this is the prevailing tone of all the speeches and articles of the leaders of that rotten corpse called until now the Second International. Their praise for the heroism of those who according to them were "doomed to destruction", "for the stoical convictions of those Austrian proletarians who were doomed to death", is nothing else than an insult to the blood-covered corpses of the fighters for the proletarian revolution in Austria.

The Swiss social democrat Paul Lang wrote in the Zurich *Volkrecht* that it is now clear that their will be no social democratic party in Austria for many years. Yes, this is clear. Indeed, when German social democracy surrendered to German fascism, it was clear that social democracy would no longer exist in Germany as a mass party, because it committed suicide by refusing to fight fascism. Yes, after Austrian social democracy has betrayed the working class by its shameful retreat and by its tactics calculated to make the fascists come to terms with it, it is now clear that there will no longer be a mass social democratic party in Austria. Yes, now that Vandervelde and Nedzialkovsky are trying to prove that the armed uprising and general strike have become antiquated weapons, that it is necessary to return to democratic methods of struggle, it is clear that there will soon be no social democratic mass parties anywhere.

Paul Lang is correct, but what he says of the Austrian social democracy must be applied to the whole of international social democracy. Social democracy as mass parties will soon cease to exist, but only on the condition that the Communist parties expose them to the end. And this will happen all the sooner, the better the Communists carry on their work among the masses of the workers. The Communist Parties must at all costs strengthen their work in the factories and in the trade unions, in all the organizations where the masses are to be found, in order to win the latter over to their side, onto the side of Leninist tactics and strategy, for the struggle for a successful general strike and for an armed uprising. This is all the more important because the "idea of storming the citadel of capitalism is maturing in the minds of the masses". (Stalin.)

In order that this storming of capitalism be transformed from an idea into actual victory, all that is wanted is a strong Communist Party.

* * * * *

The Austrian proletariat has retreated, but the struggle in Austria continues. The French proletariat is preparing for new battles against the bourgeoisie. In Spain there is the growing will of the masses for a general strike. In Germany a new revolutionary upsurge has begun. In Czecho-Slovakia a growth is taking place of the will of the masses to organize resistance to the fascist measures being operated by the government. In Switzerland there is the growing will of the masses to resist the "frontist" (fascist) movement. In all countries the mighty wave of the revolutionary movement is on the upsurge. The bourgeoisie has concentrated big forces on the frontiers of little Austria. It is feverishly preparing for war. If war does not break out on the question of Austria, then it can break out under some other pretext. The bourgeoisie is so completely entangled in contradictions, and being unable to find a way out of the crisis along lines of peaceful foreign policy, is selecting the path of war. "But if the bourgeoisie chooses the path of war, then the working class in the capitalist countries who have been reduced to despair by four years of crisis and unemployment will take the path of revolution. That means that a revolutionary crisis is maturing and will continue to mature. And the more the bourgeoisie becomes entangled in its war combinations, the more frequently it resorts to terroristic methods in the struggle against the working class and the toiling peasantry, the sooner will the revolutionary crisis mature." (Stalin.) The correctness of this statement has been illustrated by the recent events in capitalist Europe.

The events in Austria and France are indicators of the nearness of a new round of revolutions and wars.

The armed uprising in Austria is the vanguard struggle in the second round of proletarian revolutions. The events in Austria and France have been a mighty school for the entire international proletariat. In the course of these events the *militant* united front of the working class against the bourgeoisie was established. It is essential to preserve this united front like the apple of our eyes. We must strengthen and broaden it. These events have revealed the colossal revolutionary energy which is accumulated within the ranks of the workers who still remain in the ranks of the Social-Democratic Party and of the reformist trade unions. It is necessary to turn this energy loose and for the Communists by their intensive work within the reformist organizations to head the will of the masses towards struggle. These events have once again shown the mighty significance of the general strike, they have also shown that such a strike which is capable of setting the whole of the bourgeoisie all of a shiver, is possible and can be successful if the militant united front of Communist and social-democratic

workers is in being. The Austrian events have shown once again that even a poorly armed proletariat can fight successfully against a bourgeoisie which is armed to the teeth, and by pursuing a correct tactic, achieve victory. *All that the working class needs so as to attain victory is a militant revolutionary united front of all workers, a Communist leadership, and a strong Communist Party.*

* * * * *

The events in Austria and France have shown how mighty is the power of attraction of the U.S.S.R. for the workers of the whole world. These events have shown that the U.S.S.R. by its struggle for socialism is raising the workers of all countries to the struggle for power. They have shown how mighty a force is the growing, ever strengthening gigantic monolithic colossus, the U.S.S.R., which enjoys the support of the workers of all countries, and stands out in contrast to the capitalist system which is hated by the toiling masses and is eaten up by its own inner contradictions.

The workers of France and Austria, the workers of the strongest and weakest capitalist countries in Europe have shown in action to what heights the revolutionary wave has reached in Europe. Millions of workers in all countries followed and continued to follow the struggle in France and Austria, in Vienna and Paris with abated breath. The ruling classes tremble before the mighty spectre of proletarian uprising which has raised its head in Austria once more. They tremble whilst preparing for new wars, because the general strike and armed uprising threaten their rear.

The revolutionary crisis is maturing. Proletarian revolution is knocking at the door of old Europe. The vanguard struggles of the new round of proletariat revolutions are beginning.

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FIFTEEN YEARS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

THESES FOR INSTRUCTORS

I. THE PLACE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL IN HISTORY

1. On March 4, 1919, fifteen years ago, the First Congress, under Lenin's leadership, established the *Communist International* — the new International Workingmen's Association, in Red Moscow. The Fifteenth Anniversary of the Communist International is the Fifteenth Anniversary of the *United World Communist Party.*

The Communist International, *the greatest achievement of the working class of the world,* which was gained on the basis of the experience of the entire preceding world labor movement, regards itself as the historical successor of the *Communist League and the First International,* and is guided in its struggle by the principles of *Revolutionary Marxism,* which found its further development in *Leninism.*

> "The First International laid the ideological foundations of the international proletarian struggle for socialism. The *Second* International, in the last period of its existence, prepared the ground for the expansion of the working class movement among the masses. The *Third,* Communist, International, in continuing the work of the First International, and in accepting the fruits of the work of the Second International, has resolutely lopped off the latter's opportunism, social chauvinism and bourgeois distortions of socialism, and set out to realize the dictatorship of the proletariat." (See *Introduction to the Program of the Communist International,* Par. 3.)

2. The counter-revolutionary nature of opportunism which triumphed in the Second International of pre-war days, and which was not at all clear to all during the "peaceful era" clearly asserted itself at the moment of the outbreak of the *imperialist war* in 1914 when the leaders of the Second International *openly deserted to the camp of the bourgeoisie. The collapse of the Second International* was the collapse of opportunism. The shameful betrayal perpetrated by the leaders of the Second International caused the greatest *disruption and cleavage* in the world labor movement. The only correct answer to all the burning questions placed before the working class by the war, by the misery of the masses caused by the war and the collapse of the Second International was given by the Bolsheviks headed by Lenin.

3. The Bolsheviks comprised the only consistent Marxian tendency in the socialist movement. They not only exposed all the opportunist trends in the socialist movement of Russia, but also in the international labor movement. They exposed the right and centrist wing of the Second International as well as the semi-Menshevist mistakes committed by the German Lefts (Rosa Luxemburg). Long before the war the Bolsheviks brought about an organizational rupture with the Mensheviks.

The program adopted by the Bolsheviks in 1903 was the only *program* among the programs of all the Socialist Parties of the world which proclaimed the struggle *for the dictatorship of the proletariat* as its basic task, and the Bolsheviks subordinated all their tactical and organizational principles to this great historical task.

With this historical task as their object, the Bolsheviks, in preparing for the revolution of 1905, for the bourgeois-democratic revolution, pursued the course of that revolution growing into a socialist revolution, fought for the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolutionary movement, and for winning over the peasantry and the oppressed nationalities as the *allies* of the proletariat. Holding that "the proletariat has no other weapon in the struggle for power except organization" (Lenin), they created a party as "the highest form of class organization of the proletariat" (Stalin), as a party of a "new type", as a party of revolution, in contradistinction to the old type of parties of the Second International, the parties of reforms, the parties which orientated themselves on collaboration between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between labor and capital.

Starting from small underground circles, through leading the broad masses in the revolution of 1905, by winning over the majority of the working class in the open struggle for power in the revolution of 1917, the Bolsheviks achieved the victorious October Revolution and the creation of the Communist International and have now become the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which stands at the head of the dictatorship of the proletariat, leading the construction of a classless socialist society in the U.S.S.R., and is the *vanguard of the Communist International and a major factor in world history.*

The credit for *preparing and creating the Communist International* is due to *Lenin. Lenin's* characterization of the epoch of imperialism as an epoch of monopoly and moribund capitalism, its last and highest phase, Lenin's outline of the perspective of the imminence of the proletarian revolution and of the main task of the epoch as *the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat,* the sharp formulation of the question about the complete *severance* of all ties with the opportunists of the Second International and

the creation of a *new International,* constitute in the main the *platform* advanced by the Bolsheviks in the Manifesto of the "Zimmerwald Lefts" and subsequently adopted by the *First Congress of the Communist International.*

4. *The great October Revolution which marked the beginning of the world proletarian revolution was the decisive factor in the birth of the Communist International.*

The October Revolution utilized and extended the great experience of the Paris Commune, the revolution of 1905, and the revolution of February, 1917; began to put into effect *Marx's slogan about the dictatorship of the proletariat,* and created a *new* type of state, the *Soviet* type of state.

The decree to transfer the land to the peasants, and the manifesto of the Second Congress of the Soviets to all nations and governments proposing the immediate cessation of war, created a colossal impression on all fronts and in the rear of the imperialist war, and gave an impetus to the revolutionary activity of the broad toiling masses all over the world.

The question as to the attitude to be taken towards the October Revolution, towards the *Soviets, became,* in 1917, the *main question* of the international working class movement, which had entered the period of stormy revolutionary upsurge.

The Second International as represented by its most prominent leaders (Kautsky, Otto Bauer, Vandervelde, MacDonald) became the most vicious enemy of the October Revolution from the very outset. Advancing the slogan of "pure" (*i.e.,* never at any time existent) democracy, or "democracy in general", spreading deception concerning the "above class character" of such democracy, as opposed to the Leninist slogan of the proletarian dictatorship, the Second International completely departed from the Marxian doctrine of the class character of the state; Lenin's struggle against Kautsky and against the whole Second International for the purity of the Marxist doctrine of the state and the dictatorship of the proletariat was the *ideological preparation for the formation of the Communist International.*

Despite the counter-revolutionary position of the leaders of the Second International, the broad *toiling masses* everywhere acted as the allies of the October Revolution, fought against the war, and the imperialists responsible for the war, in the form of mighty strikes, demonstrations, hunger riots, mutinies in the armies and navies, guerilla warfare, revolts, organization of Soviets, and the capture of power in various places. *The banner of the October Revolution and of the Soviet government was the banner of rebellion everywhere.*

Soviets arose spontaneously in Poland, Germany, Hungary, Finland, Norway, Bulgaria, Italy, Austria, Canada, Latvia and Slovakia.

These great class battles in the lands of imperialism, and the rising wave of the national liberation movement in the colonies and semi-colonies, were an expression of the world character of the crisis of the capitalist system and of the international significance of the October Revolution, as the first stage of the World Proletarian Revolution.

5. *In the fire of these great battles Communist Parties were born in a number of countries* (Austria, Germany, Poland, Hungary, Finland, Holland, Latvia, Lithuania, Esthonia, Bulgaria).

On January 24, 1919, eight Communist Parties and organizations headed by the Communist Party of Russia addressed a platform for a new International to all revolutionary proletarian organizations standing "for the point of view of the proletarian dictatorship in the form of Soviet power", and urged them to take part in an international congress which was "to adopt the title of the First Congress of the Communist International".

The international conference of Communists which met in Moscow on March 2, 1919, *declared* itself on March 4, *to be the First Congress of the Communist International.*

The victory of the Soviet Government in Russia and the struggle of the proletariat for power waged in several European countries enabled Lenin to say a few days after the First Congress that "the foundation of the Communist International is a sound affair".

The historical service of the First Congress lies in that it *laid the basis* for a single *world party of the revolutionary proletariat,* and that it formulated its basic *task as the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat* in the form of Soviets *throughout the world.*

> "The world historical significance of the Third Communist International lies in that it began to put into effect Marx's greatest slogan, a slogan which sums up the century-old development of socialism and the working class movement, a slogan expressed in the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat." (Lenin, Vol. 24, p. 248, Russ. Ed.)

In *Lenin's* thesis "on bourgeois democracy and the dictatorship of the proletariat" adopted by the First Congress, in several other basic documents of the Second Congress, and later, in the *program* adopted at the Sixth Congress in 1928, the Communist International proclaims its chief historic mission *to be the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.*

The Communist International openly declares that the dictatorship of the proletariat can be accomplished only by means of *violence.* "The violence of the bourgeoisie can only be suppressed by the stern violence of the proletariat." (See *Program of the Communist International,* Sec. 4, Par. 1.)

6. Having raised the class struggle to *a higher level*, the October Revolution opened up *a new page in history*. The Communist International is leading class battles *in an epoch of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, in an epoch of struggle between two worlds*, when the proletariat *already holds power and is building socialism* in one-sixth of the globe, and when in its struggle for power in the remaining part of the world, it relies on the colossal power of the C.P.S.U., *the leader of the First Proletarian State*.

The Communist International is relentlessly fighting against the Second International as being chiefly responsible for the cleavage in the working class movement, as being the main enemy of the proletarian revolution within the ranks of the working class.

Organizing and consolidating the revolutionary workers of all countries in their struggle for Soviet power, the Communist International is the *only force* capable of closing the breach *of the working class and establishing real unity in its ranks*.

Leading the struggle of the international proletariat against bourgeois domination — for the complete emancipation of the peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies subjugated by imperialism, for a *Soviet government* in each country, for the complete victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R., the Communist International is the *First* really *World International*.

II. THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL IN THE FIRST PERIOD OF THE WORLD PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

7. *The fifteen years of the Communist International have been fifteen years of uneven but constant development of the World Proletarian Revolution.*

Side by side with the great lessons of the *October Revolution* the most *significant lesson* that the international proletariat learned during the past fifteen years was the outcome of the *November revolution* in Germany in 1918.

From the very outset a *proletarian revolution* both in character and as regards its driving forces, the November revolution was a fact of tremendous world significance. The German proletariat had a mighty ally in Soviet Russia, with which a victorious proletarian revolution in Germany would have been in a position not only to repel counter-revolutionary intervention on the part of the Entente and to fully achieve the social and national emancipation of the toiling masses of Germany, but also in a position to guarantee the victory of the Soviets in the Central European countries.

> "History . . . pursued such a peculiar course that it gave *birth* in 1918 to two separate halves of socialism. . . . Germany and Russia in 1918 most clearly embodied the material realization of the economic, industrial and social conditions of socialism on the one hand, and the political conditions of socialism on the other." (Lenin, Vol. 22, pp. 5-7, Russ. Ed.)

The Bolsheviks, with Lenin at their head, under the slogan: "All power to the Soviets," won the majority of the working class, the vast reserves of its allies, as represented by the peasantry and the nationalities oppressed by Czarism, created a Red Guard, organized armed insurrection, and achieved the revolutionary seizure of power. In October 1917, the working class of Russia, under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, smashed the machinery of the bourgeois state, expropriated the expropriators, and proceeded to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of the Soviets and to strengthen fraternal contacts with the proletariat of all countries.

In view of the extreme weakness of the Communist Party which developed out of the Spartacus Bund at the beginning of the revolution, the outcome of the November revolution in Germany *depended upon German social-democracy*.

Having come to power as a result of the workers' uprising, the *German Social-Democratic Party* betrayed the proletarian revolution. They betrayed the revolutionary workers to the maddened officers, disarmed the revolutionary soldiers, rallied the counter-revolutionary detachments in Berlin, outlawed the Red Guard, and concluded secret and open agreements with the employers and with the General Staff. The social-democrats, the Eberts and Scheidemanns, left it to the "independents", the Kautskys and the Haases, to appease the workers by glorifying the crimes committed by the social-democrats on the pretext of defending democracy. Flying the flag of the "democratic road to socialism", *German social-democracy split and disarmed the working class*, destroyed the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, handed all power over to the bourgeois "National Assembly", incited the German workers against the October Revolution, and fought for the fulfillment of the terms of the Versailles Treaty. *By the whole of its policy it faithfully cleared the ground for fascism.* The path taken by German social-democracy was pursued by all the parties of the Second International.

8. *The Path of October, the path of the dictatorship of the proletariat brought the Soviet Union to socialism.*

The path of bourgeois democracy brought Germany to fascism.

With the active support of the international proletariat, the working class of the Soviet Union under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party has repelled the attacks of the united forces of imperialism and of the counter-revolution at home, and after restoring the country's economy destroyed by the war, it extensively developed its victorious socialist offensive. Lenin's plan for building socialism in the Soviet

Union lay at the base of the First Five-Year Plan, the Five-Year Plan of constructing the economic foundations of socialism. Despite all the prophecies of the bourgeois economists and of the leaders of the Second International, who predicted the collapse of the Five-Year Plan, despite the desperate resistance of the world bourgeoisie, and of the class enemy at home, along with the latter's agents within the ranks of the working class and of the Party, such as the Trotskyites and right-wingers, the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. under Stalin's leadership, completed the *First Five-Year Plan in four years and three months.* On the basis of its achievements, a program of great work, the *Second Five-Year Plan, a Five-Year Plan for the construction of classless socialist society,* has been mapped out and is being successfully fulfilled.

As a result of these victories the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. has freed itself forever from the *scourge of unemployment,* abolished pauperization in the villages, raised the general well-being of the broad masses of the toilers, achieved a great victory on the front of the cultural revolution, and has created the prerequisites for the continued further growth of the material and cultural level of the masses. The liquidation of the last capitalist class—the kulaks—and the victory of the collective farm system, has solved the *most difficult* task of the proletarian revolution, namely, that of the *socialist reconstruction of the village.*

Having demonstrated to the world the great deeds of which the proletariat in power is capable, having demonstrated all the advantages of socialism over capitalism, the Soviet Government has become a beacon for the toilers and the oppressed of all countries.

By intensifying the split in the labor movement, by disrupting the united front of the workers in the struggle against the offensive of capitalism and fascism, by supporting the reactionary dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in the form of its Weimar Republic, by sanctioning the gradual liquidation of all the gains of the working class, and making one concession after another to the forces of reaction, "social-democracy" has plunged Germany into *Hitler's fascist dictatorship.* Economic disaster, millions of unemployed, the robbery of the workers, the new form of capitalist slavery as expressed in "labor service", bloody terror, medievalism, and the conversion of advanced and cultured Germany into the worst center of world reaction and war, *such are the achievements of German social-democracy and the Second International.*

9. During the years which have elapsed since the November revolution, bourgeois democracy has clearly revealed itself *not only* in Germany, but also in other capitalist countries, as the *disguised form of bourgeois dictatorship.*

Under the conditions of the general crisis of the capitalist system, the ruling classes in the lands of "democracy" (United States, France, Great Britain), as well as in the lands of fascism (Italy, Poland, Hungary, Germany, Japan) are more than ever before revealing their true nature as exploiters and slave-owners.

> "The ruling classes in the capitalist countries are zealously destroying or nullifying the last vestiges of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy which might be used by the working class in its struggle against the oppressors; they are driving the Communist Parties underground and resorting to open terrorist methods in order to maintain their dictatorship." (Stalin: see *Stalin's Report to the Seventeenth Party Congress on the Work of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.*, Sec. 1, Par. 23.)

The whole post-war development of the world has shown that *Soviet power alone represents "proletarian democracy, democracy for the toiling masses, democracy directed against the exploiters." (Program of the C. I.)*

10. *The October Revolution was the starting point in the revolutionary crisis of the countries of Western Europe. The outcome of the November revolution rendered more difficult the success of a number of big revolutionary battles fought during the first period not only in Germany (the January days of* 1919, *the March uprising of* 1921) *but also in other countries of Central Europe.*

The mighty wave of proletarian revolution led to the formation of the *Hungarian Soviet Republic* on March 21, 1919. Under the leadership of Communists the Hungarian Soviets disarmed the gendarmerie and the police, organized a Red Army, nationalized the banks, and the big industrial enterprises and buildings, and carried through a number of measures to bring about a radical improvement in the living conditions of the working class. The heroic struggle of the Hungarian Soviet Republic against the armed forces of the Entente to a considerable extent deflected the interventionist forces from Soviet Russia. After existing about four and a half months, the Hungarian Soviet Republic *was betrayed by Hungarian social-democracy and drowned in blood by the international counter-revolution. Not "democracy" but fascism took the place of the Soviets.*

The mistakes of the Hungarian Communists, expressed in the liquidation of the independence of the Communist Party and its union with the social-democrats, and in its failure to distribute the land, should serve as a serious warning to all other Communist Parties. "No Communist should forget the lessons of the Hungarian Soviet Republic." (See *Stenographic Report of the Second Congress,* 1921, Russ. Ed., p. 561.)

The *Bavarian Soviet Republic* which arose on April 13, 1919, under Communist leadership, disarmed the bourgeoisie, armed the proletariat, and

proclaimed the nationalization of industry and the banks. But it, too, after existing for but eighteen days, was crushed by the White Guards *with the active cooperation of German social-democracy.*

The battles in Bavaria, as in Hungary, revealed with exceptional clarity the complete desertion of the social-democratic parties to the camp of the bourgeoisie, and the decisive role of Communist leadership in the victory of the proletariat.

11. The outstanding role played by the *Second World Congress of the Communist International* (July 19-August 7, 1920), *which was a powerful demonstration of the splendid successes of the October Revolution and of world Bolshevism,* was that in a struggle on two fronts, it solved the most important problems of Communist *strategy, tactics, and organization.*

At that period Lenin regarded Centrism as the main, "colossal, immediate danger" confronting the young Communist movement. Pitilessly exposing the Centrists (Dittman, Crispien, Frossard and others) who, under pressure of the masses, came to the Second Congress to negotiate with the Comintern, *Lenin* insisted that *the Centrists be absolutely refused admission into the ranks of the Communist International.* The thesis of the Second Congress "On the main tasks of the Second Congress of the Communist International" and the "Twenty-One Conditions of Affiliation to the Communist International" were directed against this main danger, Centrism.

The Second Congress also repelled the "infantile sickness" of "left-Communism" as represented by semi-anarchist elements, whose position expressed itself in the demand to boycott bourgeois parliaments and other organs of bourgeois democracy, and to withdraw from the reformist trade unions.

The whole of the subsequent struggle of the sections of the Communist International to win over the masses has shown the colossal *historical importance* of Lenin's fight against the Centrist (right) and Sectarian ("Left") deviations. The struggle of the Communist International for the correct line in *Trade Union* work acquires exceptional importance. Although the Comintern has succeeded in overcoming social-democratic and anarcho-syndicalist survivals on the trade union question (regarding the trade unions as non-political organizations, conducting only economic struggles, and the demand for the "independence" of the trade unions of the proletarian party) and in getting all the sections to recognize the necessity for work in the reformist trade unions, the greatest impediment in the struggle of the Communist Parties to win over the majority of the working class is *to this day* their underestimation of the importance of this work.

In its struggle against social-democratic "parliamentary cretinism" on the one hand, and against the "anti-parliamentarism on principle" of the "lefts" (Bordiga, Wynkoop and others) on the other, the Comintern has on the basis of the decisions of the Second Congress succeeded in utilizing the bourgeois parliament for *revolutionary* ends (Clara Zetkin's position in the fascist German Reichstag was a splendid example).

12. The decisions of the Second Congress on the *national-colonial question* illuminate the path of the *oppressed peoples* in their revolutionary struggles for their national and social liberation, and point out the *leading role* of the proletariat in this struggle.

These decisions point out the path of the unity of the national liberation struggle of hundreds of peoples oppressed by imperialism with the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat of the "foremost" capitalist countries, and attract to the side of the proletarian revolution many millions of its reserves in the capacity of allies of the proletariat.

In the struggles against Menshevism and Austro-Marxism, against the nationalism of the Bund, the nihilism of Rosa Luxemburg and other "lefts" on the national question, *Lenin* and *Stalin* raised the Marxist national policy to a high level and worked out the theory, strategy and tactics of the revolutionary proletariat on the *national-colonial question* as applied to the epoch of imperialism.

The October Revolution, which liberated hundreds of peoples in the land of the Soviets, gave rise to a vast wave of national-revolutionary movements, revolts and wars for national liberation, involving the Arabian East, China, India, Indo-China, Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan and Korea.

The imperialist war of 1914-1918 which resulted in the breaking up and division of a number of nations between various countries (millions of Ukrainian people between Poland, Czechoslovakia and Roumania, a considerable number of Hungarians between Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Roumania, Macedonians between Yugoslavia, Greece and Bulgaria, etc.) brought about a stormy upsurge in the national-revolutionary movement in Europe. The Versailles "peace" led to an exceptional accentuation of the national problem in Germany.

The Communist International comes out decisively against the "underestimation of the inner strength of the national movement, which does not understand the deep popular and profound revolutionary nature of the national movement" (Stalin), and at the same time conducts a struggle against survivals of chauvinism among Communists of the oppressing nation, as well as against the deviation in the direction of national reformism. By putting forward, in the struggle for national liberation, the slogan of *the right of nations to self-determination to the point of separation and the complete independence of the colonies, the Communist International* proclaims as the basis

of its national policy the *joint revolutionary class struggle of the toilers of the oppressed and oppressing nations. The Leninist national policy of the Communist International is an irreplaceable weapon in the struggle against fascism.*

13. The decisions of the Second Congress on the agrarian question *have equipped the proletariat as the leader of* the broad masses of the *peasantry.*

> "The indifference and directly negative attitude displayed by the parties of the Second International towards the peasant question is to be explained primarily by the fact that these parties do not believe in the dictatorship of the proletariat, that they fear the revolution and do not intend to lead the proletariat to power." (Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism*, "*The Peasant Question*".)

The decisions of the Second Congress generalize the experience of the agrarian policy of the Bolsheviks, the policy of the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, which was based on a calculation of the class struggle in the rural districts and tested in three revolutions in Russia, and also the lessons of the mistakes of the Hungarian, Polish and Latvian Communist Parties in the revolutionary battles of 1918 and 1920. These decisions were entirely embodied in the Program of the Communist International and have been subsequently enriched by the experience of the collectivization of agriculture in the U.S.S.R., by the experience of liquidating the kulaks as a class and drawing the masses of toiling peasants into the work of socialist construction.

During the past fifteen years the Communist International has with increasing success overcome Trotskyist, right and "left" opportunist deviations and mistakes on the peasant question (Trotskyist underestimation of revolutionary possibilities in the village, glossing over of class differentiations in the rural districts, direct and indirect support of kulak theories and kulak slogans).

14. *The Second Congress of the Comintern became a mighty factor in the further development of Communism.*

The Congress of the "Independent Social-Democratic Labor Party" of Germany (held in Halle in October 1920) and the Congress of the French Socialist Party held in Tours in December 1920, which ended in the affiliation of the majorities of these Congresses to the Comintern, was a *terrible defeat for the Second International.*

In September 1920 a broad mass movement began in Italy which arose to a high level of revolutionary class struggle; it assumed the form of the *seizure of the factories by the workers and of the big landed estates by the peasants, and of the organization of a Red Guard.* That movement, which embraced over half a million workers and peasants, was betrayed by the leaders of the Socialist Party of Italy, and of the reformist trade unions.

In Italy, too, the victory of the bourgeoisie, which was made certain by the social-democrats, ended *not in a strengthened "democracy" but in the triumph of fascism. The absence of an independent Communist Party* was one of the main causes of the defeat of the proletariat. An independent *Communist Party in Italy* was only formed in January 1921 at the Livorno Congress, by breaking away from the Socialist Party.

The March uprising of 1921 in Germany, which broke out when the capitalist offensive had already commenced, was drowned in the blood of the German proletariat by the hands of German social-democracy. The Communist International, headed by *Lenin,* resolutely repelled the renegade Levy and his friends who tried to slander the heroic March uprising. At the same time the Comintern called attention to the "left" mistakes of those Communists who, after the failure of the rebellion, tried to cover up their own errors by a special "theory of the offensive". Recognizing the March rebellion as a step forward, the Third Congress *on the basis of its lessons emphasized the task of fighting for the masses.*

15. *At the Third Congress* (which took place from June 22 to July 12, 1921), the Comintern declared that "the first period of the post-war revolutionary movement . . . is largely ended". (*Third Congress of the C.I., Theses and Resolutions,* 1921, p. 3.)

The commencing capitalist offensive threatened to weaken ideologically and organizationally the young and frail Communist Parties which had not yet managed to consolidate their ties with the broad masses.

> "In the vast majority of countries our parties are far from being what real Communist Parties, real vanguards of a real and the only revolutionary class should be, with all their members participating in the struggle, in the movement, in the daily life of the masses." (Lenin, Vol. 26, p. 493, Russ. Ed.)

In the new conditions, the Third Congress warned the Communist Parties against sectarianism and, on the other hand, combatted pessimist and defeatist moods, giving the world Communist movement the Bolshevist experience of *reorganizing its ranks with a view to preparing for the new offensive.* The most important historical significance of the main slogan of the Third Congress, the slogan "*To the Masses*", was that this slogan was a *program of struggle for all the sections of the Comintern over an entire historical period of preparation for the second round of revolutions and wars.*

The consolidation of the Soviet regime, the further capitalist offensive against the working class, the victory of fascism in Italy, such was the world situation at the time of the *Fourth Congress of the Comintern*

(November 5 to December 5, 1922), the last Congress attended by *Lenin*. Under the symbol of *Struggle for the Masses, For the Majority of the Working Class,* this Congress worked out the *Tactics of the United Front* (which had been previously adopted in principle in the December thesis of 1921 and in the decisions of the First and Second Plenums of the E.C.C.I. in 1922). The Fourth Congress fought against the underestimation of these tactics on the part of most Communist Parties and against the right and "left" distortions of these tactics. Distortions sometimes expressed themselves in that the united front tactics were given an opportunist interpretation as the task of bringing closer together and uniting the Communist Parties with the social-democrats (Germany, Czechoslovakia, France), and sometimes they were distorted by left sectarian elements who were incapable of getting in touch with the best sections of the *social-democratic workers* (Italy).

The united front tactics, the chief object of which in the opinion of the Comintern is the establishment of the *uniy of all workers in their struggle* against capitalism, the unity of all their *militant actions,* are the tactics of *irreconcilable struggle* against the main obstacle in that struggle, *viz., social-democracy.* In adopting these tactics, the Communists reserve to themselves the unlimited right to expose the social-democrats even during joint actions, and they carry out these tactics primarily in the form of a united front *from below.*

16. *The battles of* 1923 *served as a particularly valuable experience for all sections of the C.I.*

The period of the occupation of the Ruhr by the French imperialists which led to catastrophic development of the economic crisis in Germany, acute class struggles (powerful strikes and mass political demonstrations, especially in Upper Silesia and in the Ruhr), disorganization in the government and confusion in the camp of the bourgeois parties, clearly indicated that "the question of the Communists seizing power was coming on the order of the day" (Stalin). As a result of the agreement between the Communists and "left" social-democrats, a "Workers' Government" was established in Saxony and Thuringia, not by an uprising but by means of parliamentary election campaigns. A series of crude right opportunist mistakes committed by the Brandlerites (*consisting of an opportunist distortion of united front tactics;* a bloc with the "left" social-democrats in Saxony and Thuringia, giving the initiative to the latter and actually capitulating to them) facilitated the social-democratic policy of saving capitalism. *The treachery of the social-democrats in Saxony determined the fate of the movement in favor of the bourgeoisie. The heroic uprising in Hamburg* was not supported by the Brandlerites. The underestimation of the revolutionary perspective and the capitulatory practice of the Brandlerites found expression in *theories of an obvious Centrist character* ("establishment of a workers' government through parliament," "a block of all workers' parties," interpretation of the united front as tactics of "peaceful transition to the dictatorship," as a political coalition with the social-democrats, Thalheimer's theory of the possibility of establishing a government of a transitory type between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat).

In *Bulgaria,* at the time of the overthrow of the Stamboliski peasant government and Tsankov's fascist coup d'etat in 1923, a powerful wave of mass actions of the workers and peasants swept the country, which was not headed by the Bulgarian Communist Party. The latter failed to understand its tasks owing to its adherence to an erroneous right opportunist theory of "neutrality". The heroic uprising of the workers and peasants in September of that year, prepared and headed by the Communists, did not affect the decisive proletarian centers and was drowned in blood.

17. *The battles of* 1923 *marked the final link in the chain of great class battles of the first period and the starting point of the second period of the general crisis of capitalism.* The struggle of the proletariat in that period was a direct *struggle for power.* Due to the *treachery of the Second International* and the weakness of the Communist Parties, the struggle ended in victory for the bourgeoisie, notwithstanding the revolutionary situation.

> "*Objective* conditions for a victorious revolution were at hand. What was lacking was only the subjective factor. There was no determined, conscious revolutionary workers' Party prepared for the fight. In other words, there was no real Communist Party." (*Decision of the Fourth Congress of the C.I.;* see *Communist International* 1927, p. 158, Russ. Ed.)

These struggles revealed that Communism had won over only the *vanguard* of the revolutionary proletariat and that the winning of the broad masses remained the task of future stubborn fights.

But these battles enriched the working class with *inestimable experience* and became the starting point in the struggle of the Comintern for making all sections *real Bolshevik Parties* as a necessary condition for victory.

All sections of the C.I. have learned the Bolshevik art of fighting and winning, in *irreconcilable struggles against social-democratic survivals on the one hand and against anarcho-syndicalist remnants on the other,* in a stubborn fight against the underestimation of the *role of the Communist Parties* as the leader of the masses (an underestimation linked up with the survivals of Luxemburgism and its incor-

rect theories on the question of "spontaneity and consciousness").

As early as 1924, Stalin wrote:

> "The process of the *final* formation of real Bolshevik Parties in the West, representing the bulwark in the impending revolution in Europe, *has begun.*" (Stalin, *On the International Situation*, see *Bolshevik* 1924, No. 11, p. 16.)

III. THE STRUGGLE FOR MASS COMMUNIST PARTIES

18. The *Fifth Congress* (June 17 to July 2, 1924) *was the first Congress after Lenin's death.* That great loss strengthened the sense of responsibility of all the sections of the Comintern. It rallied them more closely around the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and served as an impetus towards the self-equipment of the Communist Parties with the mighty weapon of *Leninism;* it induced them to raise the *problems of Bolshevization* on a wide scale and to fight for *monolithic unity of the party ranks.*

The *Fifth Congress of the Comintern endorsed the decision of the E.C.C.I.* which condemned the capitulatory tactics of the Brandlerites and the Trotskyists who supported them.

Comrade Stalin's splendid defense of the Leninist teachings against the attempt to distort it by the Trotskyists and the right opportunists, and his further development of Leninism has served all the sections of the C.I. as a powerful instrument in mastering the historical experience of the C.P.S.U.

19. The defeat of the revolution in a number of western countries and the agreement reached among the imperialists concerning the distribution of their military conquests and colonial plunder (the Washington Treaty of 1922, the Dawes Plan of 1924, Locarno in 1925) became a starting point in the *temporary stabilization of capitalism.*

In each capitalist country capitalism succeeded in strengthening its position by lowering the standard of living of the working class, by capitalist rationalization which was put into operation not only with the efforts of the bourgeoisie and the apparatus of the bourgeois State but also with the efforts of international social-democracy.

The imperialists, however, did not succeed in smashing the first workers' State, the land of the Soviets, and this fact became of decisive importance for the entire subsequent development of the general crisis of capitalism and the world proletarian revolution. The bourgeoisie also failed to come to an agreement concerning a new military intervention in the U.S.S.R., and this created "a certain temporary equilibrium between two stabilizations" (Stalin).

Stabilization of the Soviet Union meant the further *rapid growth of socialism.* In the course of its development capitalist stabilization revealed more and more its *temporary and relative character.*

Even in the years when the class struggle was at its "quietest" the working class retaliated to the capitalist offensive by strikes against lowering the standards of living of the workers and in defense of the social gains of the early post-war period. The struggle frequently assumed a *political character.*

The great class battles in *Great Britain, Austria, China and several colonial countries* were most glaring examples of, and constituted a powerful factor in, the shattering of capitalist stabilization.

20. At the time of the *general strike* (May 3-12, 1926) which affected about five million workers, Great Britain was turned into an arena of fierce combats between labor and capital.

"The general strike brought the British proletariat face to face with the problem of power." (*Theses of the E.C.C.I. on the Lessons of the General Strike in Great Britain.*)

The capitulation of the General Council and the leaders of the Labor Party before the bourgeoisie, and their betrayals of the seven-months' heroic miners' strike, inscribed another shameful page in the history of the Second International.

The Communist Party and the Minority Movement were not *strong enough* to frustrate the treachery of the General Council.

The general strike and the mass demonstrations which broke out spontaneously in *Vienna* on July 15, 1927, were transformed into an *uprising. Although the Austrian social-democrats suppressed that uprising jointly with the bourgeois troops* its lessons were not lost on the Austrian proletariat as was evident in the subsequent heroic armed struggle for power waged by the Austrian proletariat in February, 1934.

The Revolution in China, and a series of revolts in the colonies, became a mighty factor in shattering the temporary stabilization of capitalism. *The general strike in Shanghai* of June 30, 1925, the heroic struggle of the Hongkong and Canton proletariat in 1925 and 1926, the *Northern Campaign* of the Canton Army and its occupation of South and Central China, down to the Yangtsi Valley (in the winter of 1926-27) were keenly watched by the whole world. *The Canton Uprising* (December, 1927) marked the turning point from the Kuomintang to the Soviet stages of the Chinese revolution. Even in the Kuomintang stage of the Chinese revolution *the Communist Party of China* headed the strike conflict of the workers and mass actions of the peasants of 1925-27, and fought for hegemony in the national struggle for liberation.

21. The years of *temporary stabilization* became a period of very persistent struggle on the part of the *Communist International for the Bolshevization of its sections, for establishing parties of a new type.*

The main task of the Communist Parties in those years was to establish firmer contact with the masses "*in order to link up the Communist Parties of the West with the trade unions*" (Stalin).

Under the new conditions the Parties had to learn to carry on painstaking day-to-day work in a revolutionary manner among the masses and especially *in the trade unions, in the factories, among the unemployed, among agricultural laborers;* they had to learn the art of coordinating the partial slogans of the movement with the fundamental ones. These tasks demanded that the *Party ranks be cleansed of opportunists and particularly of the agents of social-democracy and of renegades* who endeavored to drag the movement back, and who had begun their retreat from Communism, to which they had come at the time of "storm and stress", back to the fold of the Second International.

Turning its fire on the right, the Communist Party of Germany liquidated the capitulatory Brandler group. The Communist Party of Poland removed from the leadership and liquidated the *Koszewa-Barsky* group, which was akin to the Brandlerites, and expelled the treacherous nationalist Wasilkow-Turjansky group from its ranks. *The Communist Party of France* liquidated several right wing groups (Souvarine and others). *The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia* expelled the treacherous Buonik group from its ranks and removed the conciliators from the leadership. *The Communist Party of China* purged itself of the right opportunist and liquidationist Chen-Du Su faction. Bolshevization also demands a struggle *against "left" deviations,* which are the "main obstacle in the process of winning over the masses" (Sixth Plenum E.C.C.I.). *The Communist Party of Italy* waged a determined struggle against the anarcho-syndicalist Bordiga group. *The Communist Party of Germany* liquidated and later expelled the ultra-left, corrupt and unprincipled Ruth Fischer-Maslov group from its ranks.

All these right and "left" opportunists and liquidators were supported by *the Trotskyists and later by the Trotsky-Zinoviev opposition in the C.P.S.U.,* who gave ideological and organizational leadership to the general anti-Party front in the struggle against the "Dictatorship of Moscow", against the Comintern.

Trotskyism, reflecting the *counter-revolutionary vacillations* of the petty-bourgeoisie, actually revises Leninism on the question of the *socialist character of the October Revolution* by denying Lenin's theory of the *building of socialism in a single country.* Under the "left" banner of struggle against "national narrow mindedness" and against the "Party regime" Trotskyism sought to *disrupt* the ranks of the C.P. S.U. and the Communist International. *The Right group,* headed by Bucharin, Rykov and Tomsky, reflecting the *resistance of the kulaks* to the policy of collectivization and the high rate of industrialization, created a theory of the kulak growing into socialism and expounded the social-democratic theory of "organized capitalism", underestimated the revolutionary perspective, and objectively inspired all the supporters of *capitalist restoration* by their ideology and factional work.

22. Contrary to the social-democratic theories concerning the beginning of a new "democratic" era in the development of capitalism, an era of "organized capitalism", the *Sixth Congress of the Comintern* (July 18-September 1, 1928) on the basis of an analysis of the international situation, characterized the approaching *third period* as a period of the sharp intensification of all the internal and external contradictions of capitalism which "*will inevitably lead, through the further development of the contradictions of capitalist stabilization, to the further shattering of capitalist stabilization and to a severe intensification of the general crisis of capitalism*". (*Stenographic Report of the Congress.*)

The whole work of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern proceeded under the symbol of *preparation* of the Comintern for impending class battles. The Sixth Congress armed the Communist movement with a *program,* a document of world historical significance, the principles of which are "a *law* for millions of organized workers in every part of the world and of all races and nations of the earth." (From the *Manifesto of the Sixth Congress.*) On the basis of the experience of the Chinese revolution and the events in India, the Sixth Congress developed Lenin's theses for the Second Congress *on the national and colonial questions.* The Congress called upon the international proletariat to wage an intense struggle *against imperialist wars, and for the defense of the U.S.S.R.*

Emphatically condemning Trotskyism and pointing out that "on the basis of the partial stabilization of capitalism, and owing to the direct influence of social-democracy, the main deviation in the Communist Parties at the present time is to the *right* of the correct political line," the Sixth Congress, directing *its main blow at the right,* fought every shade of *conciliation* with deviations which in essence was a concealed form of opportunism, and armed the Communist Parties with the Bolshevik *experience of the struggle on two fronts.*

23. The whole world development after the Sixth Congress *has fully confirmed the correctness of the analysis given by the Comintern of the third period of the general crisis of capitalism which had set in.*

The economic crisis which began in the middle of 1929 in the United States became the most severe and prolonged world economic crisis in the history of capitalism.

"The crisis has affected not only industry but even agriculture as a whole. The crisis did not limit itself to the sphere of production and trade, but has also swept into the sphere of credit and the circulation of money, and has overturned the established credit and currency relationships between countries." (Stalin, *Report at Seventeenth Party Congress*, p. 7.)

This crisis has caused a sharp decline in the standard of living of the workers and has given rise to unemployment on a monstrous scale and an unprecedented ruination of the peasantry.

On the one hand the completion of the Five-Year Plan of the U.S.S.R., one of the results of which was the liquidation of unemployment and a general improvement in the welfare of the masses, and on the other hand, the colossal misery of the masses in the capitalist countries, have extremely sharpened the class struggle within each country and hastened the *growth of the revolutionary upsurge throughout the world.*

The revolutionary battles of this period have been distinguished by their desperate and stubborn character, and have frequently developed into civil war and revolution, and thus hastened the *end of capitalist stabilization.*

The years of 1930-33 were years of the rapid *weakening of all the positions of capitalism and of the crisis of the Second International on the one hand, and of the reinforcement of the positions of socialism in the U.S.S.R., of the world revolutionary movement, and of the Communist International, on the other hand.*

24. The enormous rise in the strike movement in Poland (the textile workers' strike in Lodz, the stubborn miners' strike in Dombrova and Cracow coal fields, which lasted a month), the rapid growth of strikes in the U.S.A., which has exceeded every movement of its kind for the last ten to twelve years, the strikes in India in 1928-30 which in their extent held first place in the world, the strikes in China in which over 1,000,000 participated in 1931 alone, and the rise of the strike wave in England, France, Belgium and Czechoslovakia, have completely smashed the theory advanced by the capitulators that it is impossible to wage economic battles in the period of crisis.

In addition to the wide sweep of the movement, the economic battles of the proletariat during these years have been distinguished for the variety and acuteness of the forms of struggle, for their increasingly fierce and stubborn character, and by the fact that in a number of countries they become transformed into militant mass conflicts with the police and troops, into open civil war. The general political protest strike on March 16, 1932, in Poland in which over 300,000 workers participated; the Belgium miners' strike in Borinagi which was accompanied by conflicts with the troops; the sanguinary conflicts in *Geneva* in November 1932; the strike of the Rumanian *railroad and oil workers* which assumed the form of an armed battle with the police; the strikes of the French proletariat in Paris, Rombaux and Strassburg, which were accompanied by barricade fighting; the *great general strike all over France in February* 1934, and finally, the general strike in Austria which grew into *an armed uprising of the proletariat in February* 1934—the experience of all these battles clearly confirms the correctness of the line of the Comintern towards the further intensification of the daily economic and political struggles of the proletariat, and in the direction of a *general political strike, and preparations for an armed uprising* in a number of countries.

The revolution in Spain (April 14, 1931), *which overthrew the fascist regime* and involved millions of workers and peasants in a struggle against the power of the bourgeoisie and the landlords; the heroic struggle of the workers, peasants and soldiers who broke through the military terror in Japan; the unemployed hunger marches in *Great Britain and the United States;* the turbulent growth of the revolutionary movement of the *peasants* in practically all countries of the world; the demonstrations of the war veterans, the anti-war demonstrations, disturbances *in the armies and navies of the capitalist countries,* which assumed the form of open rebellions (the strike in the British Navy at Invergordon, the mutiny of February 5, 1933, in the Dutch Navy on one of the biggest cruisers, the *De Severn Provincien,* the mutinies in the Australian Navy, the spontaneous uprising in the Chilean Navy in September, 1931, ferment in the Japanese Army of Occupation), all these represent a series of links of the chain of uneven but constant *maturing of the revolutionary crisis.*

25. *The Soviet revolution in China* which is successfully developing, its leader the Communist Party of China, and its offspring, the Red Army, are the *standards of struggle of all subjected nations of the East who are rebelling against the yoke of imperialism.*

At the time of the Japanese attack on China, the Communist Party of China was already a menacing force at the head of a powerful and invincible *Soviet* movement over a vast territory, and the only leader in the anti-imperialist struggle of the Chinese people. On the streets of Chapei, and Shanghai, on the fields of Manchuria, Jehol and Chahar, the Communists fought in the front ranks against Japanese imperialism.

From the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution the Soviets and their workers' and peasants' *Red Army* have emerged. After breaking the yoke of imperialism, carrying out the agrarian revolution, con-

solidating the Soviet state, organizing trade unions, organizing groups of poor peasants, rallying the middle peasants around the Soviets and strengthening the alliance of the workers and peasants, the Chinese Soviet Republic has already repelled five counter-revolutionary campaigns of the Kuomintang and imperialist interventionists, and is now successfully repelling the sixth, and has become *a mighty factor of the world proletarian revolution.*

The successes of the Soviet revolution in China have proved by the experience of a vast colonial country that "*the Soviet power is the State form of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, which ensures the growing over of the bourgeois democratic revolution into a socialist revolution*". (*Theses and Decisions of the Thirteenth Plenum E.C.C.I.*)

In all the colonial and semi-colonial countries, national reformism plays the role of chief impediment of revolution, which the Second International plays in the imperialist countries. The Kuomintang paved the way for the partition of China among the imperialists. The National Congress in India, WAFD in Egypt, Kut el Vatani in Syria, the Arabian Executive Committee in Palestine, and the African National Congress are following in the footsteps of the Kuomintang.

By exposing their treachery, the Communists are undermining the influence of these organizations on the masses.

In Indo-China and in India the proletariat under the leadership of the Communist Party has already commenced a struggle for hegemony in the national liberation movement. *In the Philippines, in Korea, Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Algeria and Indonesia,* Communist Parties have already been formed. The colonial and semi-colonial peoples are *approaching the second round of revolutions and wars with growing and tempered Communist Parties.*

26. *The third period has brought to the fore as the main task facing the Communist Parties that of leading the masses at an accelerated pace, through partial economic and political battles to the decisive battles for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for Soviet power.*

Although they lag behind the revolutionary upsurge to a certain extent the Communist Parties are on the *upward grade,* having achieved the *consolidation of their ranks on the basis of the general line of the Communist International* as a result of smashing the right and left opportunists in all sections of the Comintern, the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites, the right-wing Bucharin-Tomsky-Rykov group and the right-left Sirtsov bloc in the C.P.S.U., Serra in Italy, the Barbe group in France, the Li Lihsian "leftist" group, and the counter-revolutionary Lo-Chaun-Lung group in China, the conciliators and the group of Remmele-Neumann in Germany and Gutmann in Czechoslovakia.

The creation of genuine Bolshevik mass parties has already been achieved in the weakest links of the imperialist chain, *viz.*, in *China, Germany, Poland, France, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Spain.* The Communist Parties in these countries have thousands and tens of thousands of members each; their influence extends over hundreds of thousands and millions of workers and peasants, they have already scored their first successes in establishing the united front. There is not a single Communist Party whose influence has not grown among the masses since the beginning of the economic crisis. The Communists are the only leaders of the masses, the motive force of every revolutionary struggle, and they are the first to receive the blows of the class enemy. Most of the Communist Parties have gained the necessary prerequisites for becoming real mass fighting parties of the proletariat in the near future.

27. The *social-democratic survivals* in the Communist Parties have not yet, however, been overcome. They are not yet quite able to conduct *mass work,* and especially to *consolidate* their political influence *organizationally.* This results in the Communist Parties *lagging behind* the possibilities provided by the exceptionally favorable objective situation. During the past year, opportunist mistakes of the Communist Party in the *united front tactics* were expressed in dragging at the tail, in adaptation to the backward moods of the social-democratic workers (Norway, Czechoslovakia), and in blocs with the social-democratic leaders at the top (France). The development of the *united front* in the struggle jointly with the social-democratic workers of the reformist, Christian and mass fascist trade unions, and energetic exposure of the social-democratic parties by the Communists is the *central task* facing the Communist Parties in the present circumstances. This task makes it necessary for the Communists to work *in absolutely all hostile mass organizations,* and especially *in the reformist unions,* which still embrace the decisive mass of the organized proletariat.

The Communist Party of Italy began very belatedly to organize its work in the fascist organizations. The Chinese Communist Party was similarly tardy in developing its activity in the yellow Kuomintang unions. The French and Spanish Communist Parties are still weakly penetrating the reformist unions. The Young Communist Leagues have not yet been able to carry on systematic work in the numerous bourgeois youth sport organizations.

The task of winning over the majority of the working class demands the transformation of the factory committees of the trade union opposition, of the Committees of Unemployed, of the peasant committees, and especially the transformation of the

big enterprises, into strongholds of the Communist Parties.

Abolishing their political and organizational *lagging behind* and their opportunist passivity, fighting against the tendency to leave things to take their own course, rejecting all theories of the automatic collapse of capitalism and fatalistic ideas of the inevitable triumph of fascism, the Communist Parties *are rising ever higher to the level of the great tasks which history has raised before them.*

28. A number of *historical tests* have already shown that the Comintern has achieved great successes in "the most difficult but most important matter" (Lenin), that of creating genuine Bolshevik Parties.

The War of 1914-18 was the test which proved that the *Second International* was bankrupt. In the struggle on two fronts, in the struggle against the opportunist underestimation of the danger of war, against pacifist illusions, against mechanical theories about war as "the only road to revolution" and against adventurism and putschism, the sections of the Comintern have mastered *the Marxian-Leninist policy relating to war* and have accumulated rich experience in applying that policy *in actual practice.* The Communist Parties are conducting a *constant struggle in defense of the U.S.S.R. as the fatherland of the toilers of all countries. The Communist Parties have led the broad masses many times into the streets against imperialist war and the preparations of an armed attack on the U.S.S.R. and in the defense of the toilers of China and the colonies; and they are exposing all anti-Soviet intrigues and provocations. They are fighting first and foremost the "enemy in their home countries", and are displaying examples of true proletarian internationalism.*

Examples of this nature were displayed in the struggle of the *French Communist Party* against French imperialism during the war in Morocco, when, in an atmosphere poisoned with chauvinism, it organized open proletarian action against colonial plunder, in defense of the right of Morocco and other colonies to self-determination and for the withdrawal of French troops from Morocco.

An example of Bolshevik struggle against war has been displayed by the *Communist Party of China* which revealed itself as the *only party capable of leading* the mass anti-imperialist movement, the national revolutionary war against Japanese and world imperialism, in defense of China's independence and integrity. The Communist Party of China is organizing mass resistance to Japanese imperialism, and is at the same time fighting against its own bourgeoisie and the landlords represented by the Kuomintang government of national betrayal and disgrace. Enriching the world revolutionary movement with forms of struggle such as the creation of an invincible Red Army, the experience of guerilla warfare and mass demoralization of the forces and rear of the enemy, the Communist Party of China has already become the most dangerous enemy of imperialism throughout the East.

An example of Bolshevik struggle against imperialist war is displayed by the *Communist Party of Japan,* which, in an atmosphere of poisonous Japanese chauvinism and the bloody terror of the monarchist-militarist dictatorship, has been able to go *against the stream,* to hold aloft the banner of *proletarian internationalism,* to organize resistance to Japanese imperialism and to mobilize the workers, peasants and soldiers of the Japanese army under the Bolshevik slogans of *"Defeat Your Own Government", "Transform the Imperialist War Into a Civil War", "Withdraw the Japanese Forces from China"* and *"Defend the U.S.S.R."*

The sections of the Communist International have already shown in the decisive countries that they represent a serious *obstacle on the road to imperialist war, that they alone will fight to the end to prevent war by means of revolution, and in the event of an outbreak of war will organize a powerful blow in the rear of the imperialist armies and hasten the transformation of war into revolution.*

29. *Hitler's coming to power* was a test especially for the Communist Party of *Germany* and also for all other sections of the Comintern. The Communist Party of Germany, far from being frightened by the severe test, turned it into a starting point for the further *consolidation of the whole Party around the Central Committee and the Communist International.*

Although the fascists threw Comrade Thaelmann, the Party leader, into jail and imprisoned thousands of active Party members, drove 60,000 revolutionary workers into concentration camps and are killing Communists daily with and without trial, the Communist Party of Germany has not discontinued its struggle for a single hour. It went underground as a mass party, is organizing and is at the head of the *united front* of the Communists, social-democratic and non-Party workers in their struggle against fascism, and, in spite of unheard-of terror, leads demonstrations of workers, is leading strikes, is establishing still closer contacts with the factories, is distributing a vast amount of illegal literature and is displaying wonders of heroism, Bolshevik perseverance and Party spirit.

In the struggle against the fascist dictatorship, bestial chauvinism and nationalism, the C.P.G. raises aloft the standard of proletarian internationalism. The C.P.G. is the force which is leading and will bring the German proletariat to the victory of *Soviet Germany.*

Hitler's coming to power, which has increased the activity of the fascist gangs in all other countries,

far from catching the Communist Parties of those countries unawares and demoralizing their ranks, has, on the contrary, *consolidated them more than ever in the struggle against fascism,* as a united army whose sections have all surrounded the Communist Party of Germany with fraternal and active international support. The Communists were at the head of the great revolutionary actions of the workers of *France* and *Austria* against fascism in February, 1934.

30. *The leaders of the Communist Parties display marvelous heroism and self-sacrifice.* In all countries, in the imperialist countries as well as in the colonies, in the lands of "democracy" as well as in the lands of fascism, the Communist Parties are subjected to *persecution.* In some countries, such as Germany, Italy, Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, China and Japan, the Communists are subjected to medieval torture. The German fascists perpetrate incredible brutalities and acts of sadism compared with which all that is known in the history of the persecution of revolutionaries pales into insignificance.

But the more brutal the class enemy is, the greater becomes the spirit of daring and heroism in the ranks of the fighters of the proletarian revolution. Only the great banner of Communism, the banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, only the Marxian understanding of its *great class aims, only the firm conviction of its historical correctness and in the imminence of victory, a conviction deeply substantiated by the great successes of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.,* creates heroes of the Dimitroff and Lutgens type, and of thousands of unnamed heroes who fall daily in the cause of Communism in various parts of the globe.

31. *The unshakeable unity of the ranks of the C.P.S.U.,* the leading section of the Comintern, accomplished under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, is a decisive factor in the growth and consolidation of the forces of Communism, throughout the world. The Party of Lenin and Stalin is able, on the Fifteenth Anniversary of the Comintern, to report victories of world historical importance. The Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U., a congress of the decisive victory of Socialism, admitted not only by friends, but also by the enemies of the U.S.S.R., has arrested the attention of the whole world. Led by the C.P.S.U., the proletarian revolution has solved its fundamental tasks and has attained splendid victories over the forces and traditions of the capitalist world. The C.P.S.U. has demonstrated to the workers of all countries that it is possible in practice to build Socialism in a single country. The C.P.S.U. has shown to the revolutionary fighters of all countries the Bolshevik art of rousing millions for the struggle for socialism and of leading them through all obstacles from victory to victory. The Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. which demonstrated to the world that the ranks of the C.P.S.U. and the Comintern are monolithic and solidly united around their leader, Comrade Stalin, has already become a new mighty lever in the cause of Bolshevization of all section of the C.I.

IV. ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE SFCOND ROUND OF REVOLUTIONS AND WARS

32. The world economic crisis which intensified the struggle for foreign markets, destroyed the last remnants of free trade, and called forth a trade and currency war, strengthens nationalism in the economic policy of the bourgeoisie and places war on the order of the day as a means of bringing about a new redivision of the world.

The extension of the war of Japanese imperialism against China, the extreme intensification of antagonisms in the Pacific, the preparation of Japanese and German imperialism, under the patronage of Great Britain, for a counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R., the withdrawal of Germany and Japan from the League of Nations, the end of bourgeois pacifism and the fascization of the dictatorship of finance capital, all signify the attempt of decaying capitalism to find a way out of the crisis and to frustrate the revolutionary blow of the proletariat by demolishing the vanguard of the working class through fascism and war. "Fascism is the open, terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinist and most imperialist elements of finance capital." (Theses of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.).

The bourgeoisie is choosing the way of war. The proletariat is entering the road to proletarian revolution.

The results of the First Five Year Plan in the U.S.S.R. and the colossal successes of Soviet peace policy have demonstrated to the workers of all countries what the proletarian dictatorship can give them. Hitler's Germany has shown them what awaits them if bourgeois power is preserved. *The proletariat does not want the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie either in the form of fascism or in the form of bourgeois democracy. Either the dictatorship of the proletariat or the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie,* this is how history poses the question.

> "The chief slogan of the Communist International is: *Soviet Power.*" (Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.)

33. *The General Strike in France, the armed uprising of the Austrian proletariat* (February, 1934) *are further historical landmarks in the struggle for Soviet power,* the beginning of a new counter-offens-

ive of the working class against capitalism, against fascism, for socialism, the *beginning of a wave of civil war in Europe*. The proletariat of Austria, doubly enslaved by its own and foreign capital, reduced to despair by starvation and unemployment, by the onslaught of fascism, the menace of war, and by the treacherous policy of the leaders of Austro-Marxism courageously raised the banner of struggle for power, and heroically cast their own lives and those of their children on the scales of the proletarian revolution. The armed uprising of the Austrian proletariat dealt a severe blow to Austrian Social-Democracy. During the civil war the militant united front of all the workers of Austria was realized, over the heads of the Bauers and Renners.

In those historic days the united front also triumphed over the heads of the Blums and Faures in France in the form of revolutionary demonstrations attended by hundreds of thousands, and in the great General Strike of the French proletariat which held the attention of the world, scared the bourgeoisie to death and revealed the invincible strength of the proletariat.

The events of Austria and France which found a revolutionary echo in Spain, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Great Britain, the United States and other countries, revealed the sharp turn of the Social-Democratic masses to the side of the proletarian revolution. These events will mark a turning point in the victory of the struggle of the Communist International for the united front.

Unevenly but surely, the revolutionary crisis is growing all over the world. The extension and consolidation of the Soviet Republic of China, the rapid growth of the anti-imperialist and anti-Kuomintang struggle all over China, the growing *"dangerous thoughts"* in the rear of Japanese fascism, the incipient crisis in German fascism and the growth of a new revolutionary upsurge in Germany, the deepening of the revolution in Spain, the successes of the anti-war and anti-fascist movements in all countries, the new wave of revolutionary struggle of the unemployed in Great Britain, the revolution in Cuba and the demonstration of the moral power of Communism at the Leipzig trial in which Dimitroff set German fascism on trial, all these are links in the ever strengthening united front of the world proletarian revolution. *"The idea of storming the citadel of capitalism is maturing in the minds of the masses"* all over the world (Stalin). On the threshold of the new round of revolutions and wars, the role of the Communist Party as the organizer of revolution is assuming decisive significance. *"The victory of the revolution never comes by itself; it has to be prepared and won. And only a strong preletarian revolutionary party can prepare for it and win it."* (Stalin, Report 17th Party Congress.)

34. In the conditions when the last and "decisive battle" is approaching, the cleavage in the working class is the main source of its weakness, the main obstacle in the way of winning over of its numerous reserves to the side of the proletarian revolution. This cleavage is the result of the treachery of Social-Democracy, a result of its policy of saving bourgeois rule from the proletarian revolution. There can be no other unity for the working class then fighting unity *against the bourgeoisie*, the unity of struggle for the fulfilment of the *historical aims* of the working class, for the revolutionary overthrow of bourgeois rule, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for Socialism. *Such unity will be accomplished by the world proletariat in a relentless struggle not only against the bourgeoisie, but also against the main social support of the latter, International Social Democracy.*

35. *The Second International is going to pieces.* Bankrupt at the beginning of the World War in 1914, the Second International consolidated its ranks in 1924 as a result of the proletarian revolution in Western Europe being defeated. The Second International retained its influence on the workers by relying on the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, on the temporary stabilization of capitalism. Under the banner of democracy it defended *bourgeois dictatorship* against the revolutionary workers with the aid of machine guns used by Noske, Wels and Girzezensky. It tore out of the hands of the German workers the weapon of the *mass political strike*, when it became necessary for the masses to defend themselves against the fascist onslaught. It invariably sabotaged the daily struggle of the proletariat and hundreds of times *broke up the united proletarian front* which alone would have been able to deliver a decisive blow at fasciem. The most despicable behavior of German social-democracy at the time of Hitler's coming to power summed up a whole period of betrayal, treachery and provocation. The road pursued by the German social-democrats during the last fifteen years was a road,

> ". . . from bloody suppression of the proletarian revolution in 1918, through an uninterrupted chain of treachery and strike-breaking, through all the coalition governments, the savage policy of punishment of revolutionary workers, voting for Hindenburg as the 'lesser evil', to the servile endeavor to cooperate openly with the fascist gangs." (Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.)

The political suicide of German social-democracy, the leading section of the Second International; the split of the French Socialist Party into three parts;

the complete bankruptcy of Austrian social-democracy; the withdrawal of the British Independent Labor Party from the Second International; the drop in the membership of the reformist unions; the formation in practically every social-democratic party of neo-fascists on the one hand and "left" groups on the other; the unprecedented *ideological confusion* in the leadership and the surging mass movement of the social-democratic workers in favor of a united front with the Communists, all this clearly speaks of the *disintegration of the Second International. The new crisis of social-democracy, which is part of the crisis of bourgeois rule,* is the result of the successful struggle of the Communist Parties to win over the majority of the working class, and is the fore-runner of the new round of proletarian revolutions.

36. The international proletariat is on the threshold of mighty struggles, and is establishing a united front against the entire system of wage slavery and colonial oppression, and shows the way to power and emancipation. That compass is *Leninism,* "Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution". (Stalin.)

In 1914, in face of an incomparably stronger and more powerful capitalism, the international proletariat, betrayed by the leaders of the Second International, had only one Bolshevik Party, the Party of Lenin. In 1934, the toilers and oppressed of the world have *their socialist fatherland,* a living and invincible stronghold of their struggle, and the Communist International, which comprises the Communist Parties of 65 countries.

In 1914, a handful of brave fighters headed by Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, and Clara Zetkin raised the proletarian banner in Germany against mighty imperialism and exposed themselves to the treacherous blows of the traitors of August 4. Today the Communist Party of Germany, an army of 100,000 devoted fighters, is getting ready on the firing line to storm the fascist dictatorship and to fight for the victory of *Soviet Germany.*

In 1914, there were no Soviets in China. Today their victories are shaking the edifice of world imperialism, and are bringing nearer the hour of its final doom.

There is not a single country in the world where the advanced workers are not waging a revolutionary struggle for Soviet power. Even the weakest Communist Party strikes terror into the hearts of the exploiters. The world proletariat has its *World Communist Party,* hardened, united, and trained in the course of fifteen years of battles in the cause of the working class. The great strength of the Communist International and of its sections in face of war and fascism lies in the iron *unity* they have won.

During the fifteen years of its existence the Communist International has welded the struggle of the international proletariat with the *cause of October, with the victorious construction of socialism in the U.S.S.R., and the protection of the latter;* and it has united into one indivisible whole, the struggle of the *colonial* peoples against imperialism and the struggle of the proletariat for the world *socialist* revolution.

37. Ten years ago the Communist International declared over the fresh grave of Lenin: "Lenin is our immortal leader". The prophets of the Second International at that time declared that the death of Lenin and the coming of MacDonald to power were signs of the end of Bolshevism and the beginning of a new epoch of "peaceful socialism". The ten years which have passed *since Lenin's death* under *Comrade Stalin's leadership have been a period of world historical victories of socialism in the U.S.S.R. and the growth of the influence of the Communist Parties in all countries.* During these ten years, *the struggle between the two systems* rose to a new and higher level and confronted victorious and growing socialism with declining and decaying capitalism.

Comrade Stalin has mapped out the path of the world proletarian revolution and the fundamentals of Bolshevik strategy and tactics in the new conditions of world development. Comrade Stalin has not only defended and splendidly developed Lenin's teachings of the *possibility of building Socialism in a single country,* he has headed the struggle of tens of millions for the realization of this theory and has transformed the U.S.S.R. into the greatest lever of history, that is hastening the downfall of capitalism. Stalin's fight against Trotskyism and against the right liquidators on the questions of the Chinese Revolution placed the Communist Party of China on the right track, and ensured its successful transition to the Soviet phase of its development. The struggle against all anti-Leninist deviations conducted in the C.P.S.U. and in the Comintern under Comrade Stalin's leadership revealed to all Communist Parties the *profound, fundamental* and practical revolutionary significance of the fight for the purity of the Marxian-Leninist teachings, the struggle on *two fronts,* for the leading and organizing role of the Party, for winning the majority of the working class, for winning its allies, for correct concrete and operative *leadership* of the class battles of all detachments of toilers. Comrade Stalin took a leading part in working out the *program of the Communist International.* There is not a single important decision of the C.I., not a single forecast that is not permeated with Stalin's art of far-sighted looking ahead, of mapping out the line of attack and striking a crushing blow at the enemy.

Lenin led the proletariat to the victory of October on one-sixth of the globe, formed the Communist International and headed its struggle in the period of the first round of wars and revolutions. In the

period of the second round of revolutions and wars the Leninist Communist International under the leadership of Stalin will lead the proletariat of all countries to the victory of the world October.

The revolutionary workers have not in vain passed through fifteen years of school of the Communist International. *Under the banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin,* they will carry on to the end the building of classless society in the U.S.S.R., will convert the imperialist and counter-revolutionary offensive of the bourgeoisie into civil war against capitalism, into a victorious proletarian revolution, into the triumph of *Soviet China,* into the victory of the Soviet Revolution *in Europe,* into the triumph of the *dictatorship of the proletariat all over the world.*

"Let the bourgeoisie rage, let them murder additional thousands of workers; victory is on our side, the victory of the world Communist Revolution is assured!" (Lenin.)

AGITPROP OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

STUDY THE TEACHINGS OF
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UNDER THE BANNER OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL IN BRITAIN

By WILLIAM RUST

THE formation of the Communist Party of Great Britain arose out of the direct assistance given by the Communist International and the personal intervention of Comrade Lenin.

Fifteen years ago the revolutionaries in Britain, inspired by the Russian Revolution, wanted to enroll under the banner of the Communist International and to join in the revolutionary struggle but there was very little clarity on what should be done. The British Socialist Party and the scattered revolutionary groups were small in numbers and were almost entirely divorced from the masses. They were permeated by a barren sectarianism and often succumbed to the daily pressure of reformist practice. Even the best comrades, such as the leaders of the shop stewards, who had led large strikes and fought against the war, cherished anti-parliamentarian ideas and ignored the work in the reformist trade unions.

The mighty October Revolution in Russia, the revolutionary wave in a series of other countries and the mighty post-war strike movement of the British workers were the factors which began to wash away the sectarian defences of the British revolutionaries.

Under Lenin's guidance they not only adopted clear revolutionary principles, the teachings regarding the dictatorship of the proletariat and the revolutionary forcible overthrow of capitalism, but also seriously undertook to establish a real connection with the masses of the workers, and to work out a clear tactical line with regard to the Labor Party, the trade unions and parliamentarism and establish a centralized and disciplined Party of a new type.

"We want new parties," said Lenin at the Second Congress of the Comintern, "and not parties like the British Socialist Party today; we want parties that are in close and real touch with the masses and understand how to lead them". (Stenographic Report, Second Congress of the Communist International). Insofar as the representatives of the "Socialist Workers' Federation" came out at the Second Congress of the Comintern against affiliation to the Labor Party, Lenin considered that rather than have confusion on the question of the Labor Party, it would be more advisable "even to have two parties existing side by side in Britain for a short time. The proper tactics is to affiliate to the Labor Party. If the majority is opposed to it, we must organize the minority separately". (Ibid.)

In his speeches at the Second Congress of the Communist International and in *Left Wing Communism,* Lenin analyzed the role of the Labor Party and showed what tactics must be pursued by the British Communists in order to achieve the "collaboration of the vanguard of the working class with the rearguard". (Ibid.)

Examining the concrete conditions of that period, Lenin showed that the fight for affiliation to the Labor Party provided a link between the party, *i.e.*, the vanguard of the working class, and the whole mass of the workers who are in a great degree organized in the trade unions and who belong to the Labor Party, that the Communists must support the demand for the formation of a Labor Government insofar as it would hasten the exposure of reformism in the eyes of the masses.

At that time the revolutionary wave was running high, and the workers were breaking with the traditional bourgeois parties and streaming into the Labor Party which was very loosely organized, being largely federal in structure. Millions of trade unionists were affiliated members. In its program were demands such as the nationalization of the mines, which were very popular among the masses. At that time, moreover, it was possible for a party affiliated to the Labor Party not only to criticize sharply but also to openly and concretely call the old leaders by their real names, by referring to them as "social-traitors" (Lenin, at the Second Congress of the Communist International).

But Lenin not only fought to link up the Communists with the masses organized in the Labor Party; he conducted a struggle on two fronts and firmly criticized those leaders of the British Socialist Party, many of whom did not understand that the tactic of affiliation was a *revolutionary* tactic for the purpose of exposing the real, namely the bourgeois, character of the Labor Party and mobilizing the masses against the reformist leaders.

The leaders of the B.S.P. regarded the Labor Party as "the political expression of the trade unions" and it was from this standpoint that they supported affiliation. To these leaders Lenin explained that "the Labor Party is a bourgeois party through and through, for though it consists of workers it is led by the reactionaries—the worst reactionaries, in the sense and in the spirit of the bourgeoisie, an organization of the bourgeoisie for the purpose of systematically betraying the British working class with help of the British Scheidemanns and Noskes". (Ibid.)

Lenin taught the British revolutionaries that reformism is not an accidental phenomenon but is

the bourgeois policy of the labor aristocracy who exercise a widespread influence on the working class as a whole.

Thanks to Lenin and the international experience of the Bolsheviks, the inaugural congress of the British Communist Party declared for affiliation to the Labor Party, for the carrying on of revolutionary work in the trade unions and the tactic of revolutionary parliamentarism. Immediately after its formation, in July, 1920, the young Communist Party plunged into the Council of Action movement directed against imperialist intervention against the Republic of Soviets. This mighty demonstration of the revolutionary class solidarity of the British workers with the Russian revolution, begun by the refusal of the dockers to load munitions, was deliberately held back and finally sabotaged by the reformist leaders whose actions were a fitting proof of the characterization given by Lenin. The Communist Party was unable to rally mass support behind its slogans of a general strike, but the very fact of the appearance of a revolutionary party for the first time in the mass struggles of the workers, fighting against treacherous reformism and showing how to strengthen the fight against the capitalists, marked an historical turning point in the history of the British working class.

Under such circumstances, the refusal of the reformist leaders to permit the affiliation of the Communist Party to the Labor Party followed inevitably. This refusal created great possibilities for our Party to expose the real role of the Labor Party leaders before the masses, an act which was analyzed in advance by Lenin at the Second Congress when he declared that:

> "If the British Communist Party begins to act in revolutionary fashion inside the Labor Party, and if the Messrs. Hendersons are compelled to expel this Party, this will mean a very great victory for the revolutionary and Communist movement in Britain." (Ibid.)

The movement in favor of the Communist International was also very strongly expressed in the ranks of the Independent Labor Party, and it was with utmost difficulty that the I.L.P. leaders succeeded in sidetracking this feeling by the subterfuge of forming the Second and a Half International under the pretext of setting up an "all inclusive international". They prevented affiliation to the Comintern and, in 1923, led the revolutionary workers who had stood for a break with reformism, back into the lap of the Second International.

The famous reply of the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the questions of the I.L.P. regarding the conditions of affiliation still serves as a classical analysis of British reformism, and the tasks of the British workers in the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat. This reply has received its historical justification in the whole course of events since it was written. And the I.L.P. which with the exception of a small minority, rejected this advice of the Comintern and utilized its influence in order to induce workers to submit to the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie as exemplified in the betrayal of the General Strike and the record of the two Labor Governments, has now been compelled to break away from the Labor Party and Second International, and once again to undertake negotiations with the Communist International.

If, in 1920, *the I.L.P. leaders had not succeeded in preventing the working class members from following the advice of the Comintern, the formation of a much stronger young Communist Party would have resulted, which would have led the masses of the workers in a victorious struggle against capitalism and the agents of the bourgeoisie in the working class movement, namely the reformists.*

The Council of Action movement was quickly followed by another big action of the working class, the 1920 strike of the miners for wage increases and the nationalization of the mines. The miners secured wage increases, but before long, during the period of the economic crisis the bourgeoisie itself began to go over to the offensive.

In April, 1921, the miners were locked out and wage cuts demanded. Then followed the great betrayal of "Black Friday" when the leaders of the railwaymen and transport workers who had formed a triple alliance with the miners refused to call the general strike which had been already decided upon and left the miners in the lurch.

The young Communist Party conducted an energetic campaign against the leaders of the triple alliance, it organized support for the miners and conducted work amongst the soldiers and sailors whom the government had mobilized against the strikers.

But the Party was not able seriously to influence the struggle, for although it had adopted a correct line, *its methods of work* remained largely unchanged.

The Third Congress of the Communist International criticized the sectarianism of the local party organizations during the strike, and expressed the opinion that "We still have in England a few very feeble propagandist societies for Communism (including the British Communist Party), but no really *mass* Communist movement". He insisted on the publication of a daily political newspaper.

The Communist International which as heretofore insisted on the Communists working within the Labor Party and fighting the attempts to keep them out, now very clearly put the question of organization and methods of work, the problem of how to bring the

revolutionary policy to the masses and how to consolidate in organization the political influence of the Party. The problem became all the sharper in connection with the adoption of the united front tactics which demanded from the Communist Parties real leadership over the daily struggles and a quick response to the moods of the masses. The C.P.G.B. set to work in order to transform its local organizations, to elect strong leading committees for carrying through the party's tasks, and to transform its propagandistic weekly organ into a real educator, agitator and organizer of the masses.

At the same time the Party worked out the lines of policy corresponding to the situation in the working class movement. Efforts were now directed to stimulating and consolidating the various forms of left wing opposition within the Labor Party and trade unions. These measures included the setting up of the "minority movement", as a mass opposition within the trade unions, proposals for the re-organization of the trade unions and the establishment of a general staff of the entire movement, the fight for the affiliation of the C.P. to the Labor Party as an issue for rallying the opposition against the leaders, and the fight for international trade union unity. A particular feature of this period was the intensive party work amongst the unemployed, and the formation of the National Unemployed Workers' movement.

The Communist Party supported the slogan of a Labor Government, because in the conditions of that period, the formation of a Labor Government would greatly stimulate the awakening class consciousness of the working class, and would help the party, on the basis of the experience of the masses themselves, to expose the treacherous nature of the labor leaders to these masses.

In this connection the C.P.G.B. followed the directions given by Lenin:—

> "The English Communists find it very difficult even to approach the masses now, even to obtain a hearing. If I speak as a Communist, and declare that I am calling on the workers to vote for Henderson as against Lloyd George, then without doubt I shall be listened to.
>
> "And I can explain in a popular way not only why Soviets are better than Parliaments, and why the dictatorship of the proletariat is better than the dictatorship of Churchill (disguised under the name of 'bourgeois democracy'), but also that I would like to support Henderson by my vote just as the hangman's rope supports the one who is hanged.
>
> "I could explain that the approach of the Hendersons to the formation of a government will also prove the truth of what I say and will also draw the masses to my side, and will speed up the political death of the Hendersons and Snowdens, as was the case in Russia and in Germany." (Lenin, *Left-Wing Communism.*)

The first labor government in Britain came at the beginning of 1924 following the return of 192 labor members to Parliament. Faced with the rise of the working class movement after the setbacks of 1921-22 and torn by internal division, the bourgeoisie was compelled to maneuver to utilize the services of a labor government which was established with the support of the Liberals.

In a special resolution the E.C. of the Communist International gave the following estimation of this fact:

> "The fact that the British Labor Party has formed a government is an event of the greatest importance. It shows the awakening of ever-increasing masses of workers to class consciousness, and the recognition by them of the fact that both capitalist parties are only representatives of the class interests of the property holding and exploiting minority."

But the E.C.C.I. warned the British workers against the belief that the labor government would fight against the capitalists. The workers themselves must actively develop the struggle. Therefore the E.C.C.I. called upon its British section to organize a widespread campaign around a fighting program of action, which defended the needs of the workers, with the object of exposing the imperialist character of the labor government, the bourgeois essence of the Labor Party and helping the majority of the working class "to convince itself by experience of the utter unworthiness of the labor leaders, of their petty bourgeois and treacherous nature, and of the inevitability of their bankruptcy".

Finally the E.C.C.I. emphasized that:

> "The Communist Party must maintain its ideological, tactical and organizational independence and carry on energetic propaganda on behalf of its principles, established by history, with regard to the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat being the only true means of emancipating the working class."

Despite certain vacillations and blunders the Communist Party succeeded in carrying through its line of organizing the exposure of the British labor government as a government of the "imperialist bourgeoisie and not of the working class" (resolution of the Fifth Congress of the Communist International, on the British labor government), and of developing a mass struggle against the capitalists on the basis of a program of concrete partial demands. The results of this mass upsurge in the working class movement

were shown by the fact that the bourgeois parties decided to overthrow the government. They selected as the issues its insufficient hostility towards the Soviet government and the dropping of the "anti-Communist" prosecution (the Campbell case). As the subsequent general election was fought on the issues for or against the establishment of peaceful relations with the Soviet Union, for or against the persecution of the Communists, the Communist Party once again supported the candidates of the Labor Party against those of the conservatives and liberals.

The working class movement continued to advance with such rapidity that in July, 1925, the trade unions threatened to take united action against wage cuts. In view of the fact that the bourgeoisie were insufficiently prepared for an immediate repulse to a general strike, they resorted to the temporary postponement of the attack on the miners and the introduction of a government subsidy to the owners. This victory was widely acclaimed as "Red Friday"—(the agreement was also signed on a Friday) in contra-distinction to the Black Friday of 1921.

"Red Friday" revealed that the tension of the class struggle in Britain had reached such a high level that the Communist Party placed the issue squarely before the masses, either intensive preparations for the mobilization of all class forces for the carrying through of a general strike to smash the capitalist offensive, or else the submission of the working class to the starvation demands of a declining capitalism. The Communist Party intensified its work in the trade unions and warned the workers against the treacherous activities of the heroes of Black Friday. Together with the minority movement it proposed the setting up of councils of action and the calling of a general strike, advancing the slogan of "All Power to the General Council of the Trade Union Congress".

The Labor Party co-operated with the Baldwin government, the right wing trade union leaders sabotaged the strike preparations, and the Independent Labor Party evolved a fantastic scheme for a living wage to be operated by kind permission of the capitalists. In the very midst of the period of preparation for the general strike, all three sections of British reformism united against the Communist Party. began a raging campaign against it, and decided to expel its members from the Labor Party.

But the reformist leaders were unable to hold the workers back from the struggle. The great battle began, the general strike broke out, and the British working class openly confronted the bourgeoisie. The workers faced the problem of power and felt their own strength as never before. They were defeated not because they were beaten but because they were betrayed. The strike was broken by the General Council of the Trade Union Congress when it was still rapidly advancing and drawing new sections of the working class into the battle-line. The General Council called off the strike and left the miners to fight alone not because the workers were weakening, but because the strike was slipping out of their hands, and was developing as a political struggle against the bourgeois state. The famous theses of the E.C.C.I. analyzing the strike declared that:

> "The main contradiction of this strike, arising from its reformist leadership, is the fact that the General Strike, which brought out millions of workers and brought them into collision with the entire apparatus of State power, *i.e.*, which was, in esentials, a political strike was conducted as a 'purely industiral' strike. This led it into a blind alley, the issue of which should have been to turn the strike into political channels, *i.e.*, to transfer the struggle onto the highest phase of its development. The reformist leadears not only did not steer a course for revolution, but, terrified by the prospect of revolution, they did not even utilize the strength of the masses to bring pressure to bear on the government and capitalists in order to gain concessions of an economic order". (Theses regarding "The Lessons of the British General Strike" adopted by the E.C.C.I., June 6, 1926. See issues of *Communist International*, Nos. 5 and 6, 1926.)

Only the Communist Party carried out a consistent revolutionary policy. Answering the Trotskyist slanders against the Party, the E.C.C.I. declared that:

> "The attempts to include the Communist Party of Great Britain in the arsenal of 'brakes on the revolution' do not bear criticism. . . . From the very beginning it drove the masses towards the General Strike . . . it demanded that the defensive should give place to the offensive; from the very beginning it issued the slogan of the overthrow of 'the Baldwin government which is defending the capitalists', the slogan of the 'formation of a Labor Government', and the slogans of power in the various localities passing over the Councils of Action . . . it lead a vigorous attack on the 'lefts', called for the continuation of the strike in spite of the orders of the General Council, etc. . . ."

This historic battle marked a turning point in the history of the British working class.

Noting the general strike as a proof of the relative and partial character of stabilization, the theses emphasized the significance of the decline of British capitalism and the consequent inability of the capitalists to give concessions to the workers in the same way as in the past, and drew attention to the radical changes in class relations and especially the "general leftward trend of the working class". The classic type of labor movement in England based on the domi-

nance there of the aristocracy of labor, was beginning to become a thing of the past, the exposure of reformism and the role of the capitalist state sharpened the differentiation within the working class.

The new situation ushered in by the general strike compelled the capitalists to adopt new sharp methods against the working class (the repressive Trade Union Act. etc.), in order to maintain their class rule; while the treachery of the reformist leaders rendered it easier for the capitalists to intensify their offensive on the standard of living of the working class (rationalization). The bourgeoisie stimulated the reformist leaders to adopt a line of closer co-operation with capitalism (Mondism, compulsory arbitration, open strike breaking, etc.), in order to hold the workers back from struggle. On the other hand it faced the working class with the necessity of breaking with the old reformist leadership and developing their own independent fight.

These were the basic issues raised by the general strike and which began to clearly unfold themselves especially after the end of the long struggle of the miners. This did not mean that the Communist Party had to mechanically pass over to a new tactic immediately, but it did have to take the necessary preparatory steps. The sharp criticism directed by the Soviet trade unions against the General council of the British Trade Union Congress was the first most important step taken on an international scale in order to show the necessity for a decisive independent fight against the reformist leaders. With this object the Comintern maintained a line clearly understandable to the masses, it supported the continuance of the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee but simultaneously insisted on a sharp exposure of the treacherous leaders, including the "lefts" who had handed over control over the unions to the right wing and helped in the betrayal of the strike. In this way the revolutionary criticism of reformism was brought before the masses and the action of the General Council in itself breaking up the Anglo-Russian Committee assisted in exposing them as the opponents of unity and as agents of the Baldwin government which at that time was organizing a new campaign against the Soviet Union.

But the Central Committee of the Communist Party opposed the sharp line taken by the Soviet trade unions, a line of merciless criticism of the General Council and exposure of the treacherous leaders. It refused to recognize the complete transformation taking place in the situation. A struggle over the question of the party line began inside the party. This struggle only came to an end after a widespread discussion in which the Communist International played a decisive role in clarifying the issues before the British workers.

The discussion was focussed on the question of the role of the next labor government. Was Lenin's advice of 1920 still applicable in the new situation or was it necessary to revise this tactic? At the Ninth Congress of the Party, October, 1927, the necessity for a certain revision was recognized by the congress but it actually maintained the old line with only certain insignificant modifications. Thus the congress declared for a "*real* labor government" which should be under the control of the labor party executive. Subsequently the Central Committee rejected the proposals of the Comintern made on the basis of the changed international situation as well as British conditions for the abandonment of the labor government slogan, and of independent revolutionary leadership of the working class.

The discussions in the Central Committee showed that the erroneous views regarding the Labor Party, views strongly criticized by Lenin at the Second World Congress, were still held by some leading comrades who far from understanding the character of the Labor Party as "an organization of the bourgeoisie" (Lenin) had always been of the opinion that the past tactics of the Communist Party were not for the purpose of fighting the reformist Labor Party but of miraculously transforming it into a working class party.

The majority of the Central Committee failed completely to understand the fundamental changes brought about by the general strike and the first labor government. The Labor Party was being transformed from a loosely organized Federation of Trade Unions in which a revolutionary organization could continue to work and maintain a separate existence, to becoming a disciplined Social-Democratic Party with a rigid program countenancing no opposition from within its ranks. It was becoming the "Third Party of the bourgeoisie".

The "Right Wingers" within the Party and its Central Committee stubbornly resisted the line of the C.I. for the carrying through of a thorough transformation in the tactics and policy of the Party. But among the rank and file members of the Party there developed widespread opposition to the line of the Central Committee which had completely failed to orientate the Party to the new conditions.

At the Ninth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. in January, 1928, the Communist International reached agreement with the British delegation on the necessity of adopting a new line. This new line corresponded with the interests of the British working class and was of vital significance for the development of the fight for the overthrow of capitalism.

In the resolution of the Plenum an analysis was made of the economic decline of British imperialism, and the consequent increasing rationalization offensive against the working class and the growth of repressive measures against the workers at home and the

colonial masses. Side by side with the rationalization offensive against the workers went the new forms of co-operation between the employers and the reformist bureaucracy who now performed an open strike-breaking role and "were endeavoring gradually to convert their organizations into auxiliary apparatus of the bourgeois state and the employers' organization". Moreover, reformist leaders were becoming more open and cynical defenders of capitalism, and more resolute opponents of the working class fight. In this situation the masses were moving to the left and breaking through the limits set by the reformist leaders. In Scotland, the miner elected Communists to the leading T.U. posts from which arose a struggle with the reformists which culminated in mass desertion of the reformist union and the creation of the Revolutionary Miners' Union in Scotland which has won honors in the coal-field for its good daily leadership. Therefore, taking into account the progress made by the Communist Party since 1920, the Plenum resolution stated that:

> "Under such conditions the Communist Party is faced with the imperative necessity to take advantage of the increasing going to the left of the masses and to adopt clearer and sharper tactics of opposition to the Labor Party and the trade union leaders in order to rouse the left wing workers for the struggle against the bureaucracy as a means towards winning the leadership of the working class in the class struggle against capitalism. Only by bringing out more clearly and sharply its own political line which radically differs from the reformist line on all general political questions (war, relations with the U.S.S.R., China, India, Egypt, etc), and on the everyday struggle of the working class (against arbitration, against wage reductions, against the lengthening of the working day, against helping the capitalists in the matter of rationalization, against industrial peace, etc.), will the Communist Party be able to strengthen its influence among the masses and to organize the latter for the fight against capitalism and its lackeys."

The changed situation since 1920 shows, declared the Plenum, that the second labor government would be "from the very outset an obvious instrument for attacking the working class". For the Communist Party to have failed to replace the slogan of the labor government would have inevitably meant the discrediting of the Party in the eyes of the militant masses and continue its state of isolation from the decisive sections of the working class.

While events were completely confirming the analysis of the Ninth Plenum and the decisions to sharpen the fight against reformism and for the Party to undertake the independent leadership of the struggles, to openly oppose the Labor Party as the "third party of the bourgeoisie", the leadership of the Party, which had accepted the Ninth Plenum decisions in words, committed the most gross errors in basic questions of tactics.

The struggle within the Party went on right up to, during and after the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International. A sharp fight developed in the Party leadership over the question of decolonization. At the Congress itself the British delegation expressed its opposition to part of the theses on the national and colonial question. A decisive repulse was given by the Sixth Congress to the opportunist conception held by a part of the leadership of the C.P.G.B. to the effect that the British imperialists were capable of "industrializing India".

The fight against the right danger sharpened considerably after the Sixth World Congress, and the whole Party membership were drawn into the fight to carry out the decisions of the Ninth Plenum and the Sixth World Congress. It became more and more clear that no serious success or headway would be made until a new Party leadership was elected, and this period of 1929 was taken up by a bitter internal struggle in the Party which lasted till the Eleventh Party Congress in December, 1929, at Leeds.

A section of the Party leadership, being influenced by a temporary economic improvement in 1928-29 openly opposed the Ninth Plenum Thesis which said:—

> "The decline of British imperialism is directly expressed in the continued process of decline and stagnation of British industry, which in spite of all attempts at rationalization, in spite of the greatest pressure on the standards of living of the working class, is more and more losing its power of competition, in the main branches of export to the world market. It is expressed in the continued reduction of the British export of capital and also in the loss of the dominating position of the British bourgeoisie as the world creditor and world banker. It is expressed above all in the tremendous chronic unemployment. This economic decline, in connection with the growth of the dominions and the revolutionization of the colonies, finds expression in the tendencies of the British Empire to fall to pieces."

The Party leadership were continuing to make opportunist mistakes as a result of which the party dragged at the tail of Cook and Maxton "left-wing" movement; it hesitated in giving independent strike leadership, and took no steps to carry out the decision to establish a daily Communist newspaper.

It was clear from the period of the general strike that the old leadership of the Party was deeply entrenched in social-democratic methods of work, led the Party by circulars, there was no inner-party

democracy, and that the powerful influence of social-democracy was felt on the whole political life of the Party.

The Eleventh Party Congress in December, 1929, which went through in self-critical fashion, faced the Party with the task of making a decisive break once and for all with reformism and taking up the struggle for independent leadership by the Party of the mass struggles of the working class. The Eleventh Party Congress unanimously rejected the line of the old leadership and elected a new Central Committee under the leadership of Comrade Pollitt, and set its face towards carrying through the line of the Ninth Plenum and Sixth World Congress. The publication of the *Daily Worker*, the first revolutionary daily newspaper in Great Britain, followed in January, 1930.

This Congress which took place at the commencement of the world economic crisis, took as its guiding line the open letter of the Communist International to the British Party which declared that "the Communist Party must become transformed from a merely propagandist organization into the independent leader of the economic and political struggles of the working class. . . . It is imperatively necessary that the British Party from top to bottom shall thoroughly understand in a Bolshevik manner the implications of the new tactics of 'class against class.' By further delay in the application of this correct line, the pandering to right opportunist vacillations, passivity, lack of resolution and initiative and following in the wake of events will be a serious menace to the very existence of the Party".

The advent of the second labor government speeded up the evolution of the Labor Party towards fascism. The labor government began by imposing wage cuts on the cotton workers, and ended by adopting a huge economy program of £76,000,000 against the workers. It carried through the rationalization plans of the capitalists and the Young Plan, took preparatory steps for the introduction of tariffs, speeded up the imperialist war preparations, brutally suppressed the struggling colonial workers and organized punishment of the Meerut prisoners.

The course of the developing economic crisis was making severe inroads into British economy. The unemployed army was growing by tens of thousands every week touching close upon the three millions. The authority of London as a money market was being destroyed and a financial crisis of great magnitude developed. The bourgeoisie sought a way out of the crisis at the expense of the workers, and the labor government fought for the capitalist way out by reducing wages, cutting down unemployment benefit, especially on Unemployment Insurance. The labor cabinet acted on the instructions of the London bankers, MacDonald being called from his Lossiemouth home to receive his instructions from the magnates. The instructions were a ruthless offensive against the toilers. The labor cabinet carried through this offensive on social services, soldiers' and sailors' pay, the introduction of a "means test", etc., etc., under the slogan of "sacrifices all around". Thus economizing £76,000,000, the cabinet split on the question of the reduction of the relief of the unemployed and the general election was called. The most prominent leaders of the Labor Party, MacDonald, Snowdon and Thomas, formed the National-Labor Party and joined with Baldwin (Tory) and Simon (Liberal) to form a "national" government to meet the crisis. Thus the Labor Party cleared the way for the national government, a government for carrying through a concentrated attack on the working class.

The decision by the national government to impose all round cuts, including a cut of 10 per cent in unemployed relief called forth mighty mass demonstrations throughout the country. The mutiny of the Invergordon sailors led by the Communists Wincott and Copeman struck terror into the hearts of the capitalists and compelled them to partially withdraw their cuts of naval pay. The masses were resorting to extra-parliamentary, to revolutionary methods of struggle and these took place entirely through the initiative and leadership of the Communist Party of Great Britain. Several sub-editors of the *Daily Worker* were sentenced to penal servitude and hard labor, while George Allison and Bill Shepherd received 3 years penal servitude and 20 months hard labor. This is how the capitalists replied to the Invergordon mutiny. This period was undoubtedly a turning point in the whole method of struggle of the British working class.

In this crisis the Communist Party played an active role in mobilizing the workers for the class fight. Its popular slogan of "Not a Penny Off" was echoed by hundreds of thousands of workers who rallied to the vast demonstrations which were held throughout the country. In its general election address, the Party trenchantly exposed the new national government, explained to the workers the real meaning of reformism and made a powerful call for the creation of a million-headed united front which would beat back the capitalist offensive and march forward to the establishment of a Revolutionary Workers' Government.

The elections which took place swept the "national" government to power with an overwhelming majority. The Labor Party received a severe set-back, their Parliamentary fraction being reduced considerably. The national government demagogically promised "work and wages" and our Party was not suffi-

ciently linked up with the masses to be able to expose the demagogy of the national government, and was not able to win the masses who were disgusted with the Labor Party. Despite the heavily reduced numbers of Labor Party seats, they received six-and-a-half-million votes while our Party was unable to secure a single seat.

This continued weakness of the Communist Party was especially grave in view of the fact that the coming to power of the national government with an overwhelming conservative majority, meant a new ruthless attack on the working class, an acceleration of all the preparations of war that had been carried on by the labor government. The government quickly followed up the abandonment of the gold standard by a complete transition to protectionism, namely, the adoption of an aggressive tariff policy directed against other imperialist powers with the object of capturing markets by way of an intense trading war which tends to develop into imperialist war. Within Great Britain this policy was directed against the working class and led to the forcing up of prices on the home market. This tariff war was combined with the currency war, the manipulation of the exchanges which lead to economic war.

This policy of the national government sharpened the contradictions between British and American imperialism, but, above all, was directed towards the organizing of the anti-Soviet warfront. At home, fierce police terror, a ruthless offensive on the working class, was waged with the object of reducing the standards of the employed to the lowest level of pauperization. The development of fascism in Britain went forward in full swing. The character of the "national" government soon became clear to the masses of workers.

The Party endeavored to rally the masses against the national government and its program of robbery of the workers, war preparations and intensified colonial suppression. But it became more and more clear that despite the more intense activity of the Party under the new Party leadership, in spite of active participation in unemployed struggles, in strike struggles, etc., the Party was still not standing at the head of the masses.

The Party Central Committee, with the guidance of the E.C.C.I., made a fundamentally self-critical review of its entire work, and drew up a resolution in January, 1932, which still serves as a guide to the Party in its work among the masses.

This resolution called for a complete transformation in the field of Party methods of work, for the resolute carrying forward of the struggle against reformism and for a decisive turn towards work in the reformist trade unions.

The political decision declared that no advance was possible unless at every turn, on every political and economic issue, the Party was able to make a sharp line of demarcation between reformism and Communism.

In the field of mass work, the resolution demanded a complete transformation in the revolutionary mass work in the reformist trade unions. The efforts of the new Party leadership to carry out the line of independent leadership of economic and political struggles came up against the "left" opportunist tendency to the effect that this line meant the abandonment of work within the reformist unions. This sectarian line developed especially among the middle leadership of the Party, expressions of which were "commands" to the workers, indiscriminate calls for strikes without preparations, contempt and neglect of trade union work, etc. The January resolution, while continuing the fight against the main danger of right opportunism, made it clear that a merciless fight must be carried on against "left" sectarianism.

The formulation on the trade union work met with some resistance, even in the Party leadership, and the Twelfth Congress of the Party in Battersea in December, 1932, once more emphasized that for Britain the key question to the development of revolutionary mass work in the trade union branches and factories was that "*the greatest defect of Party work during the past few years is that it has not carried on any systematic mass work in the reformist trade unions in order to carry on the struggle against the reformists and for the transformation of the trade union branches from organs of class collaboration into organs of class struggle.*"

The resolution also strongly emphasized that the Party must concretely explain to the masses the *revolutionary way out of the crisis* of capitalism and "raise all its propaganda and revolutionary agitation to a higher level."

The Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., September 1932, which pointed to the end of capitalist stabilization and the transition to a new round of wars and revolutions, noted certain improvements in the mass work of the Party as a result of the carrying out of the January resolution and once more emphasize that:

> "A sharp turn must be made towards work in the reformist trade unions, and the factories, and to arouse the working masses on the basis of the united front from below for a struggle (1) against the new capitalist offensive on the wages of the workers and unemployment insurance benefits; (2) against the government policy of supporting and encouraging the anti-Soviet aggression of Japanese and French imperialism; (3) for the independence of the British colonies and Ireland."

The Twelfth Congress of the Party (November,

1932) unanimously endorsed the theses and resolutions of the Twelfth Plenum and in particular the Congress unanimously demands a transformation of mass work in the trade unions. An appeal for comradely cooperation with the members of the I.L.P. was made while at the same time exposing their "left" reformist leaders which later on brought about a significant success in the establishment of the workers' united front in the struggle against capitalism.

The recent history of the party is marked by the united front, the beginning of revolutionary cooperation with workers who are members of the reformist trade unions and with the members of the I.L.P., many of whom are now turning to Communism. Under these circumstances, if the C.P.G.B. consistently carried through the line of the Comintern, it can and will become the powerful mass party of the British proletariat.

The approach made by the I.L.P. workers, despite the opposition of their leaders, to the Comintern, is a direct proof of the prestige which its revolutionary name carries amongst the militants in Great Britain. Events themselves have demonstrated to these workers the correctness of the line of the Comintern throughout the world and in Britain in particular. The mighty achievements of the Soviet Union, the successes of the new Five Year Plan which will usher in classless society make I.L.P. workers proud to associate with the Communist International.

The obstacle to this approach of the I.L.P. workers to the Comintern is the line pursued by the reformist I.L.P. leaders, who are sabotaging the majority decision of their Party conference, and resurrecting the old 1920 policy of "An all-embracing international" so as to hold back the members of the I.L.P. from joining up with the Comintern, and to return them to the lap of the Second International. With the help of the counter-revolutionary Trotskyists, they have opened up a new slanderous campaign against the Communist International and the U.S.S.R. The suggestion made by the Political Secretariat of the E.C.C.I. that the I.L.P. should discuss the question of joining the Communist International as a party sympathizing with Communism with a right to a consultative vote, was answered by the National Council of the I.L.P. with an attack on the peace policy of the Soviet Union which they characterized as a betrayal of the workers' interests in the capitalist countries, and by uttering the libel that the Comintern holds back the workers from the struggle.

This kind of slander exactly fits in with the anti-Soviet policy of British imperialism, which itself refuses to conclude a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union, and which heads and organizes anti-Soviet war intrigues in the East and the West.

But despite their leaders the majority of the working class members of the I.L.P. are to an increasing extent being drawn to the Comintern and are taking an active part in the united front of struggle against the National Government. The united front manifesto issued by the Comintern in March 1933 after the burning of the Reichstag met with a welcome response amongst the active workers in Britain, and considerable activity was developed especially in the fight against the war danger and unemployment.

This fighting line of the C.I. and the C.P.G.B. against the advance of fascism stood in sharp contrast to the social-fascist line of the Labor Party which rejected the united front proposals of the Communist Party.

The leaders of the Labor Party answered the united front proposals of the Communist Party with a declaration in favor of "Democracy" and an attack on the policy of class struggle. They tried to confuse their members by condemning *all* dictatorships, regardless of the fact that the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is directed against the exploiters and is a real democracy for the toilers. Support for "Democracy" means nothing more than the upholding of capitalism, and in particular, the entire cunning constitutional system by which the capitalists cover up the dictatorship which they exercise over the overwhelming majority of the population. At a time when "the world is closely approaching a new round of wars and revolutions" (Thirteenth Plenum, E.C.C.I.), the Labor Party undertakes the task of saving British capitalism even to the extent of directly supporting the imperialist war preparations and driving down the working class to ever lower standards of living.

The brilliant analysis made by the 13th Plenum of the E.C.C.I., of the present world situation has already been confirmed by the heroic armed uprisings of the Austrian proletariat and the magnificent fights put up by the French working class against fascism. The British Party draws the necessary lessons from these struggles. The successful carrying through on the basis of the united front of the Hunger March and of the National Unemployed Congress are witness to the growing influence of the British Party. But as the indignation of the British masses grows daily against the National Government and its plans for fascism and war, our Party seeks to direct this struggle towards the revolutionary solution of the crisis—to the establishment of Soviet power in England.

Reformism has developed into social-fascism, and the Second International is in disintegration. But the Communist International has remained true to

its revolutionary tasks and is marching to victory all over the world. The successful building of socialism in the Soviet Union and the maturing of the world revolutionary crisis is facing the proletarians of the capitalist countries with the problem of power.

Under these conditions the Communist Party is combining its leadership of the daily class fight and the struggle against the war danger with a widespread propaganda for the slogan of Soviet power. All the lessons of history show that the establishment of Soviet power is the only way for the workers out of the general crisis of capitalism and that the Communist Party is the only Party able to lead that fight.

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At the First Congress of the Communist International Lenin forcefully put the question forward of uniting into a single Communist Party all the revolutionary forces in England who at that time were organized in a number of small sects. The Second Congress of the Communist International also put such a line forward, and it has been carried through under the leadership of the Comintern, so that as a result, the basis has been laid in England for a mass Communist Party. Although this has not yet been achieved, the Bolshevization of the C.P.G.B. has undoubtedly made great strides, while the influence of the Party is growing from to year, as is the leading role of the Party in the struggles of the British proletariat.

Timely criticism and leadership by the Communist International has enabled the C.P.G.B. to outlive the sectarianism deeply rooted in the ranks of the revolutionary workers, to carry on a relentless struggle against right opportunism, to overcome our weak points, and above all has ensured the formation of a firm leadership which is fighting to carry the line of the Comintern into life.

The Thirteenth Plenum of the Communist International which recently took place was of special importance for the C.P.G.B., and the popularization of the results of the Plenum in the leading Districts of our Party has given rise not only to tremendous enthusiasm, but also to a firm revolutionary determination to put the decisions of the Plenum into effect.

The introduction to the Statutes of the Communist International adopted at the Second Congress of the Comintern, contains the following:

> "The *Communist International* breaks once and for all with the traditions of the Second International for which in reality only white peoples existed. The Communist Parties set themselves the task of emancipating the toilers of the *whole world*. In the ranks of the Communist International we have the fraternal union of the toilers of all colors, whether white, yellow or black."

These words are of tremendous importance for the C.P.G.B. Our Party, which is carrying on the fight against British Imperialism, the brutal and merciless exploiter of millions of toilers throughout the whole world, must do far more than hitherto to develop class solidarity between the toilers of England, India, Ireland, China and Africa. We are faced with an especially responsible task, namely of putting into life the principles of proletarian internationalism.

We are convinced that as a result of the campaign in connection with the Fifteenth Anniversary of the Communist International, our Party will be able to draw new power and new inspiration from the glorious history of revolutionary struggle carried on under the leadership of the Communist International, led by the great leader of the world proletariat, Comrade Stalin. We are convinced that our Party will become a really mass Party leading decisive class struggles against British Imperialism, for the emancipation of the colonial peoples, and the establishment of Soviet power in England.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST PROVOCATION

By V. BRONKOVSKY

In October, 1933, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland announced the exposure of George Sokhatsky-Bratkofsky, agent of the secret police and of Section No. 2 of the Polish General Staff, who in 1921 left the Socialist Party of Poland to join the Communist Party of Poland, where he occupied a number of responsible positions.

This exposure of the criminal activity of Sokhatsky-Bratkofsky is not a unique occurrence. A number of the enemy's agents who were dangerous to our Party have been recently exposed. Thus, for instance, the counter-revolutionaries and provocateurs, as Vasilkiv, Touryansky and others, who belonged to the leadership of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine up to 1928 were completely exposed. At that time Vasilkiv, Touryansky and Co., who displayed their counter-revolutionary nature, brought the Communist Party of Western Ukraine to a split. Defeated and isolated by the Party, having in a short time lost all contact with the toiling masses of the Western Ukraine, they made an attempt to worm their way into the Party once more by means of false self-criticism and feigned capitulation. The provocatory role of Silvestre Voyevudsky has also been exposed. The latter was an officer in Section No. 2 of the Polish General Staff and was formerly a deputy of parliament from the "Vyzvolenie" Party and N.P.N. (Independent Peasant Party). We will not mention here the names of less important agents-provocateurs. Nor will we stop to deal with the question of further measures undertaken by the Party for the purpose of cleaning our ranks from the agents of our enemy.

The activity of the agents of our enemy, which have been exposed recently, has continued for some years, its beginning dates back as far as 1920-1921. Every member of the Party, every revolutionary, will certainly be asking himself, why is it that we have only now succeeded in rendering these agents-provocateurs harmless? How was it that for so many years they were able to conduct their shameful work in our Party with impunity?

From time immemorial provocation has been the regular method employed by the ruling classes in their struggle against the revolutionary movement. Trembling for their sovereignty, placing the revolutionary workers and peasants outside of all laws, the bourgeoisie of all countries is making endeavors to get a clear picture of the work of revolutionary organizations from within, is using the most artful and elaborate methods in order to penetrate the innermost links of the revolutionary movement. These methods have as their aim not only the exposure of active revolutionary leaders; the bourgeoisie is striving with the aid of agents-provocateurs to influence the activity of revolutionary organizations.

The bourgeoisie is particularly persistent in its endeavors to penetrate into illegal proletarian organizations, which are leading the struggle of the workers in spite of terror, prohibitions and repressions. Up to the present, the political sleuths, particularly in the countries which sprang up on the ruins of Czarist Russia, held the Czarist "Okhrana" (secret police) which used provocation as its basic method, as their model. It was the "Okhrana" who created such types as Aseph, Gapon, the Zubatov movement, etc.

The Polish bourgeoisie, and its ruling camp—the Pilsudskyites—in the first place, are worthy successors of Czarism. The Pilsudskyites have intertwined the whole political life of modern Poland with a net of provocations. The Pilsudskyites apply methods of provocation not only inside of revolutionary organizations, but are themselves creating a system of provocatory organizations in order to retain the masses who are becoming revolutionized under their influence and under their control.

As though on instructions they are creating all kinds of trends and groups, which manipulate and use "left" phrases, almost "communizing" their own camp for the purpose of disorganizing and drawing out honest elements who are becoming radical. The Pilsudskyites are trying to surround provocation with a halo of romanticism and heroism. They are donning it up in the garb of Wallenrod—the slave who fought his oppressor with the instrument of treachery. But a Wallenrod, who serves the decaying and perishing class of the bourgeoisie in its struggle against the working masses, becomes nothing but a mere spy, a hangman of revolution, who sells for money those who are struggling for a better future, namely, the peasants and workers who are struggling to overthrow the yoke of capitalism.

The Pilsudskyites have been making attempts to penetrate the revolutionary organizations of the working class movement for the purpose of disorganizing the struggle of the revolutionary workers and peasants since the time when the Polish state first came into being. These attempts were particularly intense during the most difficult period for the Polish bourgeoisie, *i.e.*, during the Polish-Soviet war. These attempts were actively supported by the Socialist Party of Poland, from whose ranks came the chief leading cadres of Pilsudsky, and which has remained the agency of Polish imperialist chauvinism, penetrating deeply into the masses, supporting and covering up the fascist methods of political provocation.

The sending of Sokhatsky-Bratkovsky into our Party was one of those provocatory measures carried out by Section No. 2 of the Polish General Staff.

The enemy applied this method on a particularly large scale after 1920, in order to counteract the growing political influence and the growth of the mass basis of the Communist Party of Poland. At that time not only did considerable masses of workers join our Party, but even members of the petty-bourgeoisie and intelligentsia, who had also become disappointed with the new bourgeois Polish state. Because of inner dissolution, whole groups left the Polish Socialist Party, the Bund, and the Poaley-Zion in order to join the Communist Party. These elements brought many petty-bourgeois and nationalist prejudices with them. They required serious political training and checking up. Bolshevik vigilance, the inner ideological force and unity of the Party were necessary to assimilate and utilize these elements for the purpose of consolidating the revolutionary movement; but at that time the Communist Party of Poland was making only its first steps towards Bolshevization. The leadership of the Party contained many elements, who not only had no Bolshevik stamina, but who, on the contrary, displayed to a great extent Menshevik conciliation on inner Party questions. The Communist Party of Poland failed to show sufficient vigilance towards individual, alien and hostile elements who were being consciously introduced into the Party by the bourgeoisie. People coming directly from the petty-bourgeois nationalist ranks, as yet not trained by the Party, nor checked up in any way, were admitted directly into the leading bodies of the Party.

In Western Ukraine and in Western White Russia, the petty-bourgeois elements, who came into the Party from various national-revolutionary and social-revolutionary organizations and who still had numerous national prejudices, played a large role, because of the weakness of the working class. This was during the period when the Communist Party of Poland was being founded. Much time was still required to accomplish the process of creating leading working class cadres.

The existing conditions of that period made possible a rapid promotion to leading positions of such people as Sokhatsky-Bratkovsky, who, for an example, had recently been the general secretary of the Polish Socialist Party.

The ideologic inheritance of the Menshevik-nationalist "left" wing of the Polish Socialist Party, the influence of a number of groups, which came into the revolutionary movement from the nationalist petty-bourgeois parties (the revolutionary fraction of the Polish Socialist Party, the kulak parties, the nationalist parties; Jewish, Ukrainian and White Russian) were not overcome immediately and were the chief conductors of bourgeois nationalism into the C.P. of Poland.

Ideological errors, right opportunist errors in the first place, created a favorable ground for the appearance of all kinds of nationalist theories and deviations. Among these were theories of the semi-colonial character of the Polish state, the denial of the capitalist-imperialist nature of modern Poland, and the attitude of defending the independence of Poland from imperialism which logically follows such theories; the incorrect attitude towards the petty-bourgeoisie, the approach to Pilsudskyism and P.O.V.;* the conditions of modern Poland as a petty-bourgeois ally; the theory that in Ukraine and White Russia there is no bourgeoisie; the subordination of class tasks to national tasks, etc.

These errors as well as nationalist theories determined the incorrect attitude towards Pilsudskyism, whose chief object was to suppress the revolutionary movement, and who in that period particularly, applied methods of concealed internal struggle against the revolutionary movement on a large scale. They facilitated the existence of alien elements in the Party, they blunted vigilance in relation to alien influences and the work of the direct agents of the enemy. It was just this absence of necessary vigilance and the lack of understanding of the maneuvers of the enemy, which supported Silvestre Voyevudsky, who tried to throw a bridge between the revolutionary movement and the Pilsudskyites, and who for years had maintained connections with his Pilsudskian and police friends.

In its struggle, the C.P. of Poland, which has tremendous revolutionary traditions behind it, and which contains the best elements of the working class, had to and did overcome both the errors of its opportunist leaders, and the artful maneuvers of the enemy. It marched forward, developing and Bolshevizing itself continuously. No provocation was capable of impeding the development of the class struggle, and the working class under the leadership of its vanguard—the Communist Party of Poland. It carried on and led great battles, gaining one victory after another.

In the difficult and long struggle against the Rights, which assumed the form of a most acute factional struggle, our Party created the prerequisites for its further Bolshevization. The Right elements of the leadership, who persisted in their opportunist theories and by all possible means tried to keep their

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* P.O.V. is a "Polish Military Organization" of diversionary character, created by Pilsudsky and the Polish Socialist Party as an auxiliary organization of legions at the time of the imperialist war and which is at present one of the most important links in the system of Polish military fascist organizations.

hegemony in the Party and in the leadership, were unable to strengthen and arm the Party for the struggle against alien influences. Thus, for instance, at their efforts to find support in the factional struggle, the Rights repeatedly covered up errors committed by their allies and followers, and also hampered the struggle against alien influences. Thus, for instance, at the time of the struggle with the Vasilkov-Touryansky group, the Rights hampered the exposure of the real character of the Vasilkiv group. They opposed the so-called minority who estimated the Vasilkiv group as basically nationalist and alien, also the theory of the "accidental" treachery of this group. It has been proven today that the Vasilkiv group was not only a class alien group, but more than that, it was consciously counter-revolutionary, carried on wrecking work, provocations and was fundamentally the agency of the Ukrainian Military organization inside the Communist Party of Western Ukraine.

Acute factional struggle weakened the inner discipline and conspiracy of the Party. It hampered the struggle against provocation. Not only did the factional struggle make the carrying through of a correct cadres policy impossible, but it repeatedly facilitated the promotion of absolutely casual and alien elements.

The C.P. of Poland has overcome its opportunist errors and the nationalist views connected with these errors; it has forged a correct line and raised the political level of the membership, and it has brought forward new workers' cadres. It was in this struggle that the prerequisites were created for a successful struggle against alien influences and for their elimination.

With the assistance of the Communist International, the C.P. of Poland under the leadership of the new Central Committee, removed the Right wing and has moved rapidly on the path of Bolshevization, with a continuous growth of inner solidarity.

Having eliminated the opportunist elements who were incapable of putting into life the Party line, the Central Committee is giving a great deal of attention to the promotion of new workers' cadres into the leadership. The selection and checking up of cadres is now becoming one of the basic problems of the leadership. The Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Poland in 1930 laid a foundation for the further development of the leadership of the Party. The Party must contain staunch proletarian elements among its leading *active* workers and in the first place in the Party leadership. The C.P. of Poland which has absorbed the best revolutionary cadres of the Social-Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania—during its time the only revolutionary party of the Polish proletariat—must in the first place promote these very cadres; the Party must utilize the experience acquired by a great number of our old cadres in their victorious struggles under the leadership of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the Soviet Union.

On such a foundation the development, consolidation and Bolshevization of the Party and in the first place of its leadership, is going on.

The Sixth Congress of the Party in 1932 made further steps on the path of the practical realization of these basic principles of the Bolshevization of the Party and of its leadership. After so many years of acute factional struggle the process of selecting leading cadres could never be accomplished easily and rapidly. This process was connected with the overcoming of remnants of factionalism. The division of the Party into a majority and a minority continued to exist for a certain period, whereas the consolidation of the Party was interpreted as something of a *bloc* between these two former groupings. For some time these unhealthy traditions facilitated the existence of such as Bratkovsky in the role of "representative" of former majority, and in the role of "consolidator" in the Central Committee.

The decisive course for Bolshevization taken by the Party, which was adopted after the Fifth Congress, was to assist in the exposure and elimination of hostile elements, alien ideologically and in a class sense. The correct political and organizational line of the Party and its unity have also created prerequisites for a more successful struggle against provocation. It is no secret for comrades who have watched the development of our Party and its leadership, that more than a year ago Sokhatsky-Bratkovsky was taken off from direct leading work in the Party, that Solvestre Voyevudsky has been outside the Party for two years, and that the leadership of the C.P. of Poland has persistently carried out prophylactic measures amongst the Party *active,* so necessary in conditions of illegality, towards casual, wavering and suspicious elements. The leadership of the C.P.P. has persistently striven to consolidate its connections with the Communist Parties of Western Ukraine and Western White Russia. To create a monolithic unity of the Party; it has struggled against the remnants of separatism and Vasilkivism, and has striven to strengthen the leading working "active" in the Communist Parties of Western Ukraine and Western White Russia.

The leadership has fought to improve conspiracy in the Party organizations and to strengthen inner Party discipline. The struggle against provocation has been the most important task facing the Party leadership.

All this facilitated the recent exposure of the provocatory activity of a number of agents of the bourgeoisie in the C. P. of Poland.

We can boldly say today, that the C.P.P. has developed and has fought heroically on the class front, has disrupted the treacherous maneuvers and efforts

of the enemy; it has forged and created a Bolshevist political line in the struggle against alien influences; it has striven to attain ever growing inner solidarity, expelling alien, hostile excrescences. The bourgeoisie is unable to stop the victorious march of the working class, it is unable to destroy and disarm its vanguard.

The successes achieved by the Party in its struggle against provocation should by no means lull the vigilance of the Party in the struggle against the criminal activity of the enemy, who also in the future will try to penetrate into the ranks of the revolutionary movement by all possible means and ways.

The exposure of Sokhatskys, Voyevudskys, Vasilkivs and others should mobilize the whole C.P.P. still more to a struggle against provocation. The C.P.P. must simultaneously increase conspiracy still more, always bearing in mind that the application of conspiracy is one of the basic means of struggle against the provocatory activity of the agents of the "Defensiva" (secret police), that conspiracy hampers the wrecking activity of the enemy in our ranks.

At the same time we must fight in a most decisive manner against the creation of any panic, against any manifestation of morbid suspicion, against thoughtless accusations which tend to disorganize the movement and are often inspired by the enemy.

Not only does the C.P.P. never conceal from the masses the exposures of the criminal activity of the agents of our class enemy, but on the contrary it gives a detailed explanation of the content of the criminal methods used by the bourgeoisie, it mobilizes the toiling masses against them and places the agents-provocateurs in the pillory, in front of the entire working class. In this sector of the struggle, as well as in all others, powerful and close contacts with the masses are the best guarantee that the most elaborate maneuvers of the class enemy will be overcome, and is the best guarantee for the further development and further victorious march forward of the C.P. of Poland.

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CADRES AND METHODS OF LEADERSHIP IN THE SCANDINAVIAN COMMUNIST PARTIES

By D.

DURING the last few years the Scandinavian Communist Parties have increased their membership. The C.P. of Denmark during the last three years has increased its membership more than five times. The C.P. of Sweden during the last two years was able to more than double its membership, while even the C.P. of Norway increased in membership notwithstanding the fact that it had made very big opportunistic mistakes. Of course it is necessary to take into consideration the fluctuation, which also was very great in the C.P. of Denmark and the C.P. of Sweden. This can be seen from the composition of the Scandinavian Communist Parties. *Four-fifths* of the membership of the C.P. of Denmark have been less than two years in the Party. Around *three-fifths* of the membership of the C.P. of Sweden are in the Party not more than two years. About *one-third* of the membership of the C.P. of Norway joined the Party within the last two years.

Especially in Sweden and Denmark a large part of the new members came into the Party, directly in connection with the mass movements and class struggles. The majority of these workers actively participated and showed themselves up as activists in these movements and struggles and have justified themselves in their work.

Were the Scandinavian Communist Parties in reality able to involve these workers into Party work and pick out the most active for promotion to leading Party work?

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Let us take the C.P. of Denmark, where the position is relatively better. The C.P. of Denmark has strengthened its mass influence, but organizationally it lags behind this increased influence. One of the principal reasons for this is the opportunist-sectarian approach of a part of the functionaries to the question of organizationally strengthening the Party (consolidating organizationally, the recruitment of new members, etc.). The growth of mass influence and Party organization put before the C.P. of Denmark new tasks in mass work, called forward a necessity of creating new committees as for an example new sub-district committees in the Copenhagen-Zealand district. It is also necessary to add, that the Party has considerably strengthened its positions in the trade unions, that it has won over a number of trade union branches, etc.

All this forced the Party Committees to make certain efforts in creating new cadres and giving them at least minimum training. But these efforts were insufficient; the work of training cadres was not carried out sufficiently tenaciously and systematically. At the same time it must be said, that in the district and sub-district committees we have a considerable, although not a sufficient number of new Party members. In the Communist trade union fractions and in the trade union oppositional groups, the active Party members are in the majority, members who have come into the Party in recent years. The reason for this is not because the Party Committees carry on regular and systematic work in promoting and training new cadres, but because in very many cases those comrades who come into the Party were from the very beginning active and leading elements, leaders of mass movements. Therefore, as yet, it is impossible to speak of any systematic work being carried out by the C.P. of Denmark, on cadres.

The renewal of cadres went on to a larger extent spontaneously and undetermined. There were certain attempts to hinder the renewal, with the help of sectarian habits and tendencies on the part of many old Party workers. The C.C. C.P. of Denmark insufficiently struggled against conservative conceptions of such a character held by a part of the functionaries.

If there had not been such obstruction, and had the Party carried on the training of cadres as it should have, the growth in numbers and in quality would be much greater today.

Further, it is necessary to point out the absence of work with new members and their involvement in Party work. This is the main reason why the fluctuation of the membership in the C.P. of Denmark is comparatively higher. In conclusion, it is necessary to point out that in training new cadres a negative influence was exercised by the existence of more or less strong Social-Democratic traditions in the work and the building up of lower Party organizations. The question of the strong influence of Social-Democratic traditions in connection with the weak work of the C.P. of Denmark in factories and enterprises demands more detailed and special attention in a separate article because of the size and importance of this question.

In respect to Party committees, it is necessary to state that amongst their members there does not exist a correct distribution of work even up till now. Personal responsibility has not been raised to a sufficiently high level for each particular branch of work and task, also the attraction of active Party members, as an auxiliary force has been insufficient for carrying out work of the Party committees in different

spheres. This also applies to the higher Party leadership—to the Central Committee. During the last year we find a certain improvement, but even yet the C.C. has not close contact with the Copenhagen Party organization, and has not therefore a sufficient number of active Party workers necessary for fulfilling the tasks and work which stand before it. The leadership and control over the districts as yet is inadequate; no systematic agitational and propaganda work is being carried on; the work in the villages as yet is very poorly organized. Because of the inadequate and unprepared number of cadres, the daily ideological work against social-democracy and against fascism is being carried on very weakly, sometimes incorrectly. This has a danger of opportunist deviations. Although the C.C. has repeatedly accepted correct decisions on work in enterprises, no real turn has been made on this question.

Until recently, the Copenhagen-Zealand organization had more than half of the entire membership of Denmark, but the district committee was extremely weak. In place of genuine leadership, the commanding of lower Party organizations took place, also super centralization existed. Lately there has been some improvement in this district, for the reason that the district has been divided up into a number of sub-districts, which brought about in consequence considerable more activity in all phases of Party work. But, if we take the question of work in enterprises, then in the Copenhagen-Zealand district we have no serious improvement. Certain attainments were also achieved by the C.C. leadership in reorganizing the other district committees. This work of sub-dividing districts is still going on in North and Central Jutland.

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The renewal and strengthening of Party cadres has taken place much less in the C.P. of Sweden than in Denmark. It is possible to say that a year ago, the Central Committee of the C.P. of Sweden led a life entirely isolated from the districts, including Stockholm, the central district.

The C.C. did not give any concrete directives to the districts, and the districts in turn did not consider it obligatory to inform the C.C. about the events taking place in their districts. The C.C. did not even know how many members there were in the various districts, what was taking place amongst the membership, nor did they even know whether membership dues were being collected or not. Immediately after the last convention of the C.P. of Sweden (in February last year), a certain improvement took place. The connections of the districts with the C.C. began to take on normal forms, although now as yet, they are still inadeqoate. One of the main shortcomings of the Central Committee of the C.P. of Sweden, as of the C.P. of Denmark is the weak and incorrect division of work, the absence of personal responsibility, the deficiency and weakness of grouping around active members, inadequate training and promotion of new active elements. This is the position, notwithstanding the fact that the C.C. made some attempts to put into life the principle of personal responsibility, as for example, on the question of leadership and control in the concentration districts (*e.g.*, in districts where the Party has mainly concentrated its work).

It is also necessary to point out that self-criticism has been weakly developed. For example, the *Neue Dag* does not fulfill its tasks as the central organ of the Party. The influence of people who have no connections with the working masses, has as yet not been eradicated from the editorial board for the *Neue Dag*. In composition and language it imitates the bourgeois newspapers. The majority of the Political Bureau are against such a distortion of the tasks of the Party press and are endeavoring to change the *Neue Dag* into a real leading organ of the Party. As yet, however, the C.C. has been unable to put into life its decisions on this question. The reason for this can be found in the fact, that up till now the weak work of the *Neue Dag* has not undergone wide criticism in all Party cells, also because necessary changes have not been made in the composition of the editorial board.

The C.P. of Sweden is a big Party, with a membership of over 17,000. As its enemies inside the working class, the C.P. of Sweden has to face not one, but two social-democratic parties, of which one even calls itself a "Communist" Party. This demands on the part of the C.C. of the C.P. of Sweden special efforts in the ideological struggle against social-democracy outside of the Party, and a struggle against opportunistic deviations inside the Party. Such a struggle is not always carried on, if only for the reason that the leading comrades are excessively overburdened simultaneously with various other work. For example, the comrade who leads the district committee of the Stockholm Party organization is also responsible for the Party magazine and for all Party publications. Maybe this comrade cannot be substituted in all this work and therefore it is impossible to relieve him from some of it? Of course this is not so. What is the result of such a situation? The result is that being overburdened with other work, he as the editor is not in a position to give himself entirely up to this work and therefore does it badly. The result is that this Party magazine almost does not touch upon the life of the working class of Sweden. In its present form the magazine is useless. In publishing work there have been cases when mass pamphlets have been published, which in a contraband manner have attempted to drag into the Party and

working class quite open Trotskyist theories. Could the publication of such pamphlets have been possible if there had existed timely control by the C.C., and if suitable comrades were picked out for this most important sphere of Party activity? Of course not. Up till recently the position was that the cadre question was not dealt with by the C.C. of the C.P. of Sweden. As a result of the district committees not exercising control and not giving leadership to the local organizations, there appeared signs of local "exceptionalism", hiding in one's own shell and groupings connected up with super-centralization and bureaucracy.

The absence of concrete leadership seriously weakened Party work. The C.C. attempted to establish connections with separate lower Party organizations, not through the district committees, but directly. Such connections inevitably could only become and in fact became illusory because the C.C. was absolutely not in a position to keep up connections with a few hundred local groups. *This absolutely impermissible situation has now been altered; organization has been carried through and the district committees have to some extent been strengthened.*

Now, as before, in the majority of districts the methods of work are still unsatisfactory and the leading comrades of district committees often do not know how to involve and train Party workers. If the majority of districts have succeeded in overcoming tendencies of opportunistic limitation of activity and sectarian self-satisfaction with small "stable" groups, if there are already many new Party workers and committees in the smaller sub-districts then it is still necessary to state that these problems still have not been solved to the necessary extent by the C.P. of Sweden, and there are still cases of relapsing back to old routine methods, also there is still insufficient leadership given by the C.C. to the district committees.

It is impermissible to have a situation, when there is a great influx and growth of membership in the C.P. of Sweden and at the same time no systematic work is carried on amongst these new elements. The Party has been unable up till now to organize a Party school on a national or on a district scale, with the exception of one district Party School in Norborten. Not once has the question of training new members been put forward seriously.

This weakness of training new cadres in the C.P. of Sweden can be explained by the small number of active Party workers in comparison with the whole membership. It also explains why out of each thousand entering the Party with enthusiasm and eagerness to work actively, only a few have been drawn into active Party work and received the necessary training.

We do not deny that during the last year a certain turn has been made in this work. But this turn is absolutely insufficient. The C.C. and the Political Bureau are responsible for a better and a more rapid development of this work. They must struggle for this unsparingly and overcome all conservative influences.

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In respect to the C.P. of Denmark and the C.P. of Sweden it is possible to state that in spite of shortcomings and mistakes made in training of new cadres, still new members are, or are beginning to be, promoted. It is absolutely impossible, however, to make such a statement in regard to the C.P. of Norway. Up till 1931 the sectarian mistakes of the C.P. of Norway resulted in stagnation and even a decrease in membership, to a discontinuation in the development of cadres. The opportunistic mistakes of the last few years made by the Political Bureau have brought the Party the same results.

At the district Party conferences in 1931-32 many new Party workers were elected to the Party Committees. But these committees turned out to be bulky and incapable of carrying on work. The reason for this was that they were not constituted according to the quality of the Party workers, but mainly according to the principle of representation. These committee members were exactly those who created irresponsibility. If we take, for example, the Political Bureau with its 22 members, we find that it absolutely did not trouble itself about the Party organization in the capital of Norway, in Oslo. In 1932, referring to the "insufficient number of Party workers", street cells were done away with, and the reinstatement of the old territorial organizations took place. What is the explanation of this "insufficient number of Party workers"? Out of about 180 members of the Oslo city organization, 20 were members of C.C. Polit-Bureau; besides there was a wide central leadership in the trade union opposition, in the I.L.D., in the Workers Aid, in the F.S.U., in the district committee, etc. At the very least 50-60 out of the 180 members of the Oslo organization were members of these central and district committees, *e.g.*, almost all the Party active. There were too many "leaders" in Oslo, therefore, for the leadership of cells, according to the existing system of work, nobody was left.

Besides avoiding extreme bulkiness of committee composition, it was possible by distributing work correctly that the chairman of the I.L.D. and other such organizations could have worked simultaneously in a cell bureau. Industrial nuclei existed nominally in Oslo. Actually there were not more than one or two genuine industrial nuclei. The street nuclei were liquidated, and together with them their mass work. It is quite comprehensible that in such conditions a decrease in membership and a sharp fall in influence

would take place amongst the Oslo workers after the temporary and inconsiderable growth of activity in 1931-32. The Political Bureau although in its composition it had "representatives from enterprises" was completely out of touch with Party organizations and still more so with the proletarian masses. Instead of giving leadership to Party work, the Political Bureau disorganized it.

Because it could not strengthen Party work and win mass influence without carrying on an obstinate and systematic struggle against the throwing about of "left" phrases by the Norwegian social-democracy, the Political Bureau, so to speak, made up its "successes". These illusory successes were achieved by the C.C. by repudiating revolutionary slogans, by appropriate "left" social-democratic slogans, which did not bind them to any serious struggle. Because the social-democratic leaders had nothing against such slogans, it was sometimes possible to get quite a large number of votes for resolutions of this type. Some of the members of the Political Bureau absolutely seriously accepted this lagging at the tail end, this attachment to social-democratic resolutions as "victories" for the Party.

The Political Bureau, accustomed to these "victories", which did considerable harm to the Party, sank deeper and deeper into the opportunistic swamp.

Almost all Party workers were replaced in the Oslo-Akersgus District committee, which sometimes struggled against the opportunistic policy of the C.C. Every sign of initiative of this district committee in revolutionary mass work (as, for example, amongst the unemployed) was strangled by the Political Bureau. At the same time in the Bergen district the old sectarianism, which led to the complete isolation of this Party organization from the workers continued to flourish.

The situation was worst in the really industrial districts, situated near Oslo-Akersgus, as: Estford, Buskerud, and Hedemark. In these districts there are concentrated at least 60 per cent of all the industrial workers and almost 90 per cent of the large factories of Norway. The Party organizations in these districts are made up of small groups, left entirely to themselves. There are districts there which have less than 100 Party members. In these districts there are no real Party committees. The C.C. has done practically nothing to help the comrades in these districts. On the contrary, the opportunistic policy of the C.C. disarmed the Party members in these districts in face of social-democratic pressure and especially in face of "left" social-democratic chatter. These small and weak Party organizations were pushed by the policy of the C.C. towards becoming appendages of "left" social-democratic groupings.

The prerequisite for solving the question of Party structure in the C.P. of Norway is a relentless and energetic struggle against opportunism in all its forms, especially against open right opportunism. Without a decisive eradication of opportunism, it is impossible to create strong Party committees, it is impossible to develop and strengthen cadres. The *entire* membership of the Norwegian Party must understand that in the inner Party life of the C.P. of Norway very many social-democratic traditions still remain, that social-democratic influence penetrates into the Party, and that all this brought about an opportunistic line, both in a number of political questions and in questions of Party structure. On these questions, as in the general Party policy, there were cases of open social-democratic degeneration, bureaucracy, super-centralization, and an incorrect and non-party understanding of inner Party democracy. This existed in place of developing a Bolshevik Party. Before the new Political Bureau of the C.C. of the C.P. of Norway, which will be elected at the coming Party conference, stands the difficult task of re-establishing the revolutionary mass work of the Party. The new Political Bureau will have to bear in mind that the opportunism, which has appeared in the Party, cannot disappear in a single day, and that in general it will only disappear under the blows of the Party. It is all the more important that the Political Bureau and the whole of the C.C. introduce in their own ranks first of all the strictest personal responsibility of each separate comrade for the fulfillment of tasks placed upon him, at the same time exercising the strictest control over all work. It must not be forgotten that if the Political Bureau which existed hitherto committed gross mistakes, then because no self-criticism has existed in the Party the necessary vigilance was not displayed towards the weaknesses and mistakes in the policy of the Party leadership.

The C.C. as a whole must develop all possible energy in overcoming distortions and mistakes, and bringing Party work to normal. The C.C. and the whole Party must understand that it will only be possible to succeed with these tasks if wide Bolshevik self-criticism is developed without making exceptions. Such self-criticism must be developed in all bodies and organizations of the Party, and be made a lever for developing Party activity. The C.C. must liquidate its impermissable isolation from the Oslo Party organizations. The reorganization of the work in the Oslo-Akersgus district under the direct leading participation of the Political Bureau, is one of the most pressing tasks standing before the new Polit-bureau. It must see that in connection with a principle and serious Party discussion, the question is taken up in all districts of strengthening the work of the committees, so that incurable opportunistic elements will be decisively removed from these committees and replaced by Communist workers who have shown their qualities in actual struggles. The C.C. must see that

all the membership is present when discussions take place on decisive questions of inner Party life, Party structure, and the question of struggle against all variations of opportunism, and primarily against right opportunism as the main danger. Therefore, when carrying through the discussion it is also essential that the question of personal responsibility, the increase of watchfulness and the activization of all members and committees of the Party be put forward clearly and sharply. Further the C.C. must proceed to give concrete assistance to the organizations in the industrial districts. Measures must be taken such as will in reality assist the creation of working district committees (by uniting districts and creating sub-districts, etc.). The C.C. must pick out from its own ranks special comrades who will be personally responsible for leadership and control over the work in these districts. The C.C. must immediately put before the whole Party, the question of Party educational work. Especial attention must be directed towards arming of the Party workers ideologically for the struggle against social-fascism.

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All the Scandinavian Parties are faced with the following tasks:

1. The Political Bureau must be constantly in touch with all members of the C.C., and educate them in the spirit of collective responsibility, giving them concrete tasks in the districts, etc.

In the C.C. a division of labor must be introduced at the same time making each comrade strictly responsible for the work given to him. This in no way releases the Political Bureau as a whole from collective responsibility for each phase of Party work; on the contrary, it increases its responsibility.

In order to secure that its decisions are carried through the C.C. must draw into work cadres of prepared and reliable Party workers (instructors, groups of active workers round the departments, etc.).

2. It is necessary to carry on a sharp and unsparing struggle against all obstacles hindering the renewal and strengthening of Party committees (District and Sub-District committees), and of the bureau (of the local groups, nuclei, fractions, etc.).

The district committees must be given concrete advice and assistance must be rendered to ensure correct leadership in the districts. Individual members of the Political Bureau and the C.C. must participate in leading work in the district committees of the most important districts. Instructors must be particularly C.C. members, and send them into the districts. The most serious attention must be devoted to electing the new leadership, when preparing and carrying through the district conferences.

The Party committees must consider and specially encourage Party workers, who have shown themselves up well in struggles and in mass movements. This mainly refers to the lower Party workers from factory nuclei and those working in trade unions.

The whole system of political education must be reorganized. Political study for all new Party members must be obligatory. Efforts must be made to set up periodic Party schools throughout the whole country and on a district scale.

3. Especial attention must be given to the training of new Party workers for the industrial districts and the most important industrial enterprises. The special preparation of Party workers for fulfilling the new tasks arising in the village, amongst agricultural workers, lumberjacks, and the impoverished peasantry must be begun.

4. It is necessary to carry on a systematic struggle against all social-democratic traditions in our inner Party life, especially on the question of the organizational structure of the Party. An insufficient struggle against these traditions leads to the suppression of initiative and activity of the best Party workers. Only in a relentless struggle on two fronts, with right opportunism as the main danger, will it be possible to completely wipe out the social-democratic inheritance in the work of the Scandinavian Parties.

5. On the basis of an analysis of concrete examples and experiences, the question of cadres and Party structure must be regularly dealt with in the daily press and periodicals.

QUESTIONS ARISING IN COMMUNIST PARTIES IN GOING OVER TO ILLEGALITY

By RICHTER

AT the present moment, when preparations for war are going on in all imperialist countries, when fascism is growing, and the world-wide revolutionary crisis is maturing, one of the most important tasks facing the Communist Parties is the reconstruction of the Party organization and Party work in such a way that in case of being outlawed every Communist Party will be able to continue its revolutionary work in the conditions of illegality.

The Communist Parties are subjected to savage persecution in almost all the capitalist countries, and are either semi-legal or entirely illegal as in Germany, Poland, Italy, Hungary, and in a number of other countries; this is precisely because of the fact that the world is approaching nearer and nearer to a new round of revolutions and wars. And very characteristic even in the period of semi-legal existence, as is evident from the example of Germany, and now of Czecho-Slovakia, are a series of measures adopted by the bourgeoisie with a view to the direct prohibition of the Communist Party. For instance, Communist meetings and demonstrations are more and more frequently prohibited; the Communist press is either confiscated or closed down for long periods of time, the terror of the police and of the courts is sharpened, the rights of revolutionary workers' organizations are cancelled or curtailed, and the organizations themselves are prohibited. In addition, the governments outlaw strikes, Communist deputies are deprived of their inviolability; they are arrested and put on trial for their political activities; fascist organizations more and more openly participate and are included in the government apparatus of the bourgeoisie. In this period social democracy also doubles its efforts to impede and hinder the united front of the workers and the growth of economic and political battles. It comes out before the masses with new counter-revolutionary "theories", portraying fascism as something inevitable, as a period of reaction which the working class cannot escape. It connects its stand with a number of deceiving maneuvers, suitable to its role as the main social support of the bourgeoisie and its fascist dictatorship.

The demands put forward by this period, in relation to the political consistency of our Parties, the flexibility of their tactics, and their ability to take quick advantage of arising contradictions, are exceptionally great. The bourgeoisie attempts to liquidate the influence of our parties among the masses. The reorganization of our work, the adoption of all measures for the preparation for going over to illegality, and along with this energetic struggle against the threatening prohibition, against terror, and intensified militant activity of the Communist Parties in the mobilization of the working masses—this is what will help the Parties to smash the plans of the bourgeoisie and to preserve fighting strength and close ties with the masses after becoming illegal. In a word, the more energetically the Party fights against suppression in this period the more successfully will it endure struggles in conditions of illegality. And it is necessary in this period as the experience of the C.P.G. has shown, to carry on first and foremost a most decisive struggle against two manifestations of opportunism, which hinder the preservation of the Party's fighting ability in new conditions.

1. Against the right opportunistic theory, that the bourgeoisie will not dare to prohibit the Party. We had such a theory in our Party in Germany. Certain comrades were inclined to believe that under Hitler the C.P.G. would be subjected, it is true, to great persecution, but that in general a situation similar to that of 1923 would come up before the Party.

2. It is necessary to struggle energetically against a "left" opportunist sectarian ignoring of the struggle against the outlawing of the Party (preliminary struggle, even before its prohibition), as well as against the neglect of utilizing legal possibilities which still exist. Such a sectarian neglect conceals within itself the danger of breaking away from the masses.

Going over to illegality, and at the same time the preserving of the Party as a mass party, will be impossible without a persistent, untiring struggle against such right and "left" opportunistic views. The experience of the C.P.G. has shown that in general only we, the Communists, are able to create illegal organizations in the present situation, and to carry on in conditions of illegality a real struggle against the ruling class. In the period preceding Hitler's coming to power, the C.P.G., carried on a merciless struggle, under the leadership of Comrade Thaelmann, against the opportunistic, sectarian conceptions of Remelle and Neumann, which would have led to breaking the Party's connections with the

masses. They came out against an advance on the ideological front as one of the most important links in the preparatory period for going over to illegality, they were against self-criticism, they opportunistically distorted the tactics of the Party on the question of the united front, etc. It was only because of the fact that the Party carried on a decisive struggle against these opportunists that it was in general possible to hinder the plan of the Nazis to smash our Party. Despite its enormous losses, despite the unheard of terror, the C.P.G. succeeded in going underground as a mass party, preserving its connections with the working class and the toiling masses.

What enormous importance in this period has firm, collective leadership is shown by the leadership of the C.P.G., headed by Comrade Thaelmann, which came out before Hitler's seizure of power against the opportunist underestimation of fascism by the group of Remelle and Neumann and against the "Left" opportunist denial of the necessity of united front with the social-democratic workers. Through this merciless and untiring struggle on two fronts the leadership of the C.P.G. prevented the penetration to any great extent of these false and opportunist positions in the Party. It is very probable that such questions, which stood before the C.P.G. in the period of its transition to underground work will arise also before the other parties, although possibly in diverse variations.

I shall touch on the most important points of the experience of the C.P.G. in relation to the methods and forms of the Party's going over to illegality. Of course, a schematical mechanical application of definite organizational forms cannot be allowed or utilized for the entire country. It is quite insufficient to move away from officially known headquarters to others. The whole system of work must be changed. A few months before Hitler's seizure of power, the C.P.G. began to abolish and reduce certain departments of the C. C. apparatus, and to convert the leadership to a much greater extent into a body actively directing the execution of the decisions adopted. Besides, all leading bodies must work from a viewpoint of organizing the battles of the working class, not only giving directives, but also checking up as to how they are carried out. The reorganization must be carried out in such a manner that the Party apparatus and the Party cadres will to the largest extent possible work and utilize their energy in leading and organizing battles of the class struggle, combining this with an intensification of agitation and an improvement of ideological work. This is most necessary so that the Party apparatus will preserve, even in difficult new conditions, a close contact with the entire Party, with the shop and factory nuclei, with the Party fractions in mass organizations, with the workers and with the unemployed. The absence of satisfactory working Party fractions, and in many cases the weakness of the mass organizations, created a great deal of difficulty for the Party in its going over to underground work. Besides this, certain members disclosed liquidation tendencies in regard to the mass organizations. It was necessary to struggle most decisively against these tendencies, because it is impossible for the Party to broaden its influence and connections with the masses without mass organizations, especially in the conditions of illegality.

The introduction of central and district *instructors* was very helpful in the reconstruction of the Party. However, on the basis of experience, the C.P.G. must be very careful that this instruction is not transformed into a system of commanding from above. Direct leadership of the lower and intermediate links of the Party, and control over the work of these links by the higher committees must be secured and strengthened. The instructor is the most important connecting link between the lower units and the leadership. He must be a real helper in the execution of all political and organizational tasks. The entire Party must be reconstructed in such a manner that its work will be concentrated in the shops and factories, in the labor exchanges and in all other places where the unemployed assemble. The Central Committee must directly keep up connections with the most important shops and factories of the country. It must directly control the work in these shops and factories. The district committees, along with their direct control over the most important shops and factories of their districts, must concentrate their forces on the *decisive* shops and factories.

If the absence of Party fraction work among the unemployed and in the mass organizations is considered a mistake and a defect under conditions of legality, then in conditions of illegality this can lead to an extreme weakening of the mass work of the Party. For this reason, the decisive task of the Party must be the reorganization of the entire Party in the direction of working in shops and factories, among the unemployed, and in mass organizations. This concerns also the reorganization of our rank and file agitational work and our factory press. In the C.P.G. (and this is doubtless true of a great number of other parties) we had the defect that our factory newspapers were not prepared in the factory concerned, except in exceptional cases. The result was that the contents of these papers were not always sufficiently concretely connected up with the situation in the factory concerned and also with the interests of this or that group of workers. *For this reason it is necessary to give the most intent attention and assistance to the lower Party organiza-*

tions, especially to the factory nuclei, so that they will be in a position to regularly issue papers illegally. It is possible to state, that in many cases during the legal period, the Party considerably neglected the work of the illegal apparatus necessary for printing, distributing, and spreading of illegal literature. Even in the period of going over to illegallity the Party went along the line of least resistance, along the line of those legal possibilities which still existed. The creation of a central technical apparatus (for illegal printing, distribution, and spreading) is of decisive importance. The C.P.G. has succeeded in creating such an apparatus, also in bringing sympathetic non-Party, social-democratic and workers of Christian organizations into the distribution of literature.

The social democratic workers, who are becoming more and more revolutionary, must be drawn to a larger extent into active help in revolutionary work. One of the forms of this work is the creation of illegal groups of cooperation, connections with which are maintained through one member of the Communist Party only. Utilizing these groups for the distribution of literature in shops, factories, and labor exchanges has justified itself in the experience of the C.P.G. When open meetings and demonstrations are prohibited, our comrades in some cases decide not to carry them through. There are a great number of forms, with the help of which it is possible to elude police prohibition and prosecution. One of these methods, for instance, is conducting small meetings and conferences in people's houses. When our meetings were prohibited, or when it was necessary to carry on direct and personal agitation among the factory workers, the C.P.G. conducted such home meetings through its factory and street nuclei. Through the correct use of this method it has been very often possible to attract a larger number of workers than usually. It is most important that these meetings be organized by the *factory* units. At these meetings the workers asked incomparably more questions, expressed their opinions and actively participated in the discussion. It was often much easier at these meetings to convince the workers of the correctness of the views and policy of the Communist Party. This method justifies itself while the Party is legal.

In the process of preparations for going over to illegality, the C.P.G. began to divide up its nuclei into groups of five, mainly for technical reasons: to make the collection of dues and the execution of definite technical tasks easier, etc. It later appeared that the groups of five hindered the unit in carrying out its political and organizational work. In those places where it was impossible for whole units to meet, because of the terror, meetings of delegates or representatives of the groups of five were held. This partially transformd the nuclei from the lowest unit of the Party organization into a union of delegates of the groups of five.

To prevent the weakening of units, which was threatened by such a reorganization, the C.P.G. created, in place of the groups of five, small units, up to 5, 7 or 9 members. At the same time the Party had to struggle once more against the schematic idea that there must not be more than three members in a unit. It is important to avoid every manifestation of schematism in the creation of these small units, and to see that they in reality are able to cope with their political and organizational tasks. It is most necessary to take in consideration, as much as possible the existing factory and local conditions.

According to the decision of the Second Congress of the Communist International, in illegal conditions, committees must be created by means of combining the principles of cooptation and election. The question should not stand, election of committees at all expense, and no matter what happens. The most important thing is to create committees which will be capable of working, which will fully guarantee the carrying out of tasks which are placed before them by the Party and which will give the greatest guarantee of safety from betrayal.

The reorganization of the Party cannot, of course, be considered finished. It will steadily advance new demands in the sense of adapting illegal forms and methods of organization to existing conditions. A number of practical examples from the experience of the C.P.G. show that illegal methods which were satisfactory in the beginning became quickly obsolete, also that schemes, worked out by cabinet methods for connecting up with committees turned out in practice to be impracticable or even erroneous, although they seemed to give greatest possible guarantee for the preservation of the organization and leading comrades.

The greatest attention must be given, in all the work of the Party, to the political work in the struggle against espionage and provocation. The importance of this question, as yet has not been sufficiently stressed. In illegal conditions, besides various other measures, it is necessary that our functionaries be transferred from one place to another as often as possible, and that the best protection possible, should be given to the technical apparatus.

We will succeed in solving the most burning questions and the question of cadres in the C.P.G., as well as in all other illegal parties, when we learn to create real responsible committees, which draw into active Party work all their membership; when, besides giving regular help to the lower and interme-

diate links of the Party, we will simultaneously give assistance and opportunities to Party workers for study and raising their qualifications; and when we will advance to more responsible work the best comrades from the lower cadres of functionaries. On the question of cadres and leadership, the German experience has shown the inexpediency of attempts to appoint so-called reserve committees along with the existing committees. Practice has shown very clearly that such a system is impracticable and cannot be accomplished.

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